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A

GENERAL HISTORY  
OF THE  
Christian Church,

FROM

The Birth of our SAVIOUR to the  
present Time.

CONTAINING

A succinct Account of *external Events*, prosperous or calamitous; the *State of Learning*; the *State of Practical Religion*; and the *Disputes, Heresies, and Sects*, that have troubled the Christian Church, in each Century.

WITH

An APPENDIX, containing the History of Philosophers, Deists, Socinians, Arminians, Anabaptists, Quakers, Moravians, &c.

To which is subjoined,

A LIST of Errors, especially since the Reformation.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
F I F T E E N T H C E N T U R Y .

**I**N the east, the external state of the church became more and more unhappy. The wide regions of Tartary, Tangut, and the provinces adjacent, where the Christian religion had long flourished, were now reduced to a residence of the vilest forms of superstition and idolatry. It is said, the Nestorians had still some churches, that lay concealed in the more remote provinces of China, to which the Chaldean pontiff sent missionary bishops. But these were dying out; and scarce one of them survived this century. In Europe, the Latins still refused to assist the Greeks against the Ottoman Turks, unless they would implicitly submit to the Roman doctrines, and to their papal dominion. Nor did the ravage of war allow the Greeks deliberately to consult what was best to be done. In 1453, Sultan Mahomet II. besieged Constantinople, with an army of two hundred and fifty thousand, and with three hundred and twenty sail of ships. The city was taken, and an end put to the Greek empire. Forty thousand Christians were slain; and sixty thousand made prisoners. In that part of the city which was taken by force, every vestige of Christianity was defaced. But in that part which surrendered upon terms, it was

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allowed to remain. But the Christians liberty was abridged by Selim I. The barbarism and tyranny of the Ottoman powers, quickly rendered the state of the Christians among them sufficiently deplorable. To convert the furious Mahomet, pope Pius II. so well known for his learning and perfidious inconstancy, wrote him a missive equally void of piety and prudence.

To balance the church's loss in the east, attempts were made to propagate the then fashionable Christianity in other quarters of the world. About the beginning of the century, Uladis Laus III. king of Poland, demolished the idols of the Samogitians; and himself was at some pains to teach them the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, as none of his clergy understood their language. He founded some churches among them, and sent them some priests. Yet to this day, multitudes of that people are scarce a degree removed from Heathenism. Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Spain, issued forth a sentence of banishment against the Jews, who refused to dissemble, and accept the Christian name; and by this means forced an hundred and sixty thousand families, or, as others reckon, six hundred thousand, or eight hundred thousand, to leave the country; most of which seem to have perished in the miserablest manner. No doubt multitudes feigned to be Christians, rather than submit to such shocking calamities. Having quite ruined the power of the Moors or Saracens, he thought to persuade them also to embrace the religion of Jesus. When softer methods failed of success, cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, advised him to convert them by force. But most of them, after all, adhered to their voluptuous impostor. The Spaniards having discovered the Canary Islands, about the beginning of the century, and Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and part of America, about the end of it, pretended to propagate Christianity among the Heathen

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then natives; while the Portuguese did the same in their discoveries of the Azores, and in western Africa, and the East Indies. It is said, the king of Congo, with his subjects, were, of a sudden, converted to Christ. But we ought to remember, that a sprinkling with water in the name of the Trinity, and a consenting to worship saints and images, and to use beads in their prayers, and profess a regard to the Roman pontiff, was by these converters reckoned enough of religion. In consequence of this conversion in Africa, pope Alexander VI. disposed to the Portuguese, whatever they could conquer from the Heathens to the south and east; and to the Spaniards, what they could seize to the south and the west. He, at the same time, recommended to them the conversion of the infidels. Instigated hereby, vast numbers of Franciscans and Dominicans were sent to these countries, to spread the papal delusions, instead of the gospel of Christ.

II. The Ottoman tyranny and ravage, as it were, laid the grave-stone upon the small remains of learning in the east. The learned Greeks, after the ruin of their empire, retired to Italy, whence they spread themselves into most of the regions of western Europe. Every city of note, and every university, was ambitious to have one of them to direct their youth to literary pursuits. Some Italians, chiefly the family of Medicis in Florence, were the principal encouragers of these learned fugitives. Hence their country became the general rendezvous of such as thirsted for literary glory. Pope Nicolas V. and some others of his pontifical brethren, Alphonso I. and other sovereigns of Naples, exerted themselves for the advancement of science. Hence academies were formed in Germany, Italy, and France; and libraries were furnished at a prodigious expence. Honours and rewards

were annexed to superior diligence and success in learning. This animated the studious youth; but nothing contributed more to the propagation of literature than the invention of printing, which happened about the middle of the century. Laurence Coster invented immoveable wooden types. Gensfleisch and Guttenberg soon after carved types of metal, at Mentz. Schoeffer perfected the invention, by casting these types in an iron mould, engraved with a puncheon. By this means, the most valuable productions of the ancient Greeks and Latins were easily published and spread. Most of the literati in Italy were chiefly employed in publishing accurate editions of these; in illustrating them with useful commentaries; and in studying an exact imitation of them; in which last, their success, in this and the subsequent age, was altogether astonishing. In Paris they had one professor appointed for Hebrew, and another for the Greek. In Spain, the study of Hebrew, and other oriental learning, encouraged by Ximenes, and that of antiquities, was carried on with great ardour and success. Reuchlin or Capnio, and Trithemius, were the restorers of solid learning among the Germans. While Antony Panormitan excited a spirit of emulation among the students of poetry, Cyriac of Ancona introduced a taste for the study of coins, medals, inscriptions, and other monuments of antiquity; of which he procured himself a copious collection.

Gemisthius Pletho, and some other learned Greeks, by their philosophical lectures, drew off a number of the Italian students from Aristotle to Plato. Cosmo de Medicis formed a Platonic academy at Florence; and got Marcilius Ficinus to make out exact translations of the best writings of the Platonics. This kindled a warm and lasting debate between the two philosophical parties, whether Aristotle or Plato was the greatest philosopher; and which of their systems was most conformable

formable to the Christian religion. John Picus prince of Mirandola, Bessarion, and Hermolaus Barbarus, steered a middle course; and attempted to combine the two systems into one. These, though chargeable with plenty of mistakes, and by far too indulgent to their wanton fancies, were the darlings of the Mystics, while the Peripatetics, and such as had an itch of disputing, were the favourites of the schoolmen. The Aristotelians, however, retained the superior influence in Italy; and were generally the teachers in the public schools. Not a few of them, especially such as followed Averroes, the Arabic commentator of Aristotle, imperceptibly sapped the foundations of all religion natural and revealed; and maintained notions near akin to the Pantheistical, which not only affirm all men to have one soul, but confound the Deity with the universe; and acknowledge but one self-existent being, composed of infinite matter, and infinite intelligence. Peter Pomponace of Mantua, a most crafty, arrogant, and enterprising fellow, headed this class; and was followed by almost all the professors of philosophy in the academies of Italy. The lords of the inquisition, alarmed with the progress of these dangerous notions, called them to account. To extricate themselves, these doctors pretended, that though their sentiments were theologically false, they were philosophically true. Under this base and impudent subterfuge they protected themselves, till Leo X. in the next age, got it condemned in the Lateran council.

The controversy between the Realists and Nominals, raged furiously in all the academies of France and Germany; and they charged one another with the sin against the Holy Ghost, for the part they took in that idle dispute. Finding that reason and argument were too feeble weapons, they had recourse to invectives, accusations, penal laws, and force of arms, for the decision of this metaphysical



quibble. In most places, the Realists had the advantage over their opposing Nominals or Terminists. Whilst Gerson and his principal disciples lived, the Nominals maintained their reputation in the university of Paris. But not long after, in 1473, king Lewis XI. instigated by his confessor, bishop of Avranches, ordered all their writings to be apprehended, and punished with confinement. He quickly changed his mind, liberated the books, and restored the sect to its former lustre in the university.

At least, part of the oracles of God were translated into the language of almost every nation of Europe, particularly of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and Britain. This encouraged the thinking few, to hope for a reformation of doctrine and practice, to proceed from the perusal thereof. But scarce any commentary of this age, except Valla's critical and grammatical annotations on the New Testament, deserve a reading. These of Toftatus have nothing remarkable but their enormous bulk. The theological doctors made a most wretched figure. Few documented or explained the doctrines of religion from the holy scriptures, or even from the dictates of the fathers. But the Scholastics every where prevailed, who loaded their own or their disciples minds, with unintelligible distinctions, and unmeaning sounds, which enabled them to dispute in the most litigious manner, concerning things of which they were totally ignorant. About the end of the century, the Mystics, headed by Thomas Kempis, and Savonarola, and supported by the Platonics, took heart, and increased. The restorers of learning and eloquence projected various schemes, for the abolishment or reformation of the scholastic method of teaching divinity. Gerson, Savonarola, Peter de Alliaco, and Nicolas Cusanus among the Mystics, and Paul Cortesius among the Literati, sought only to reform it. But  
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the orders of Dominic and Francis, unwilling to lose their veil of ignorance, their field of sacred warfare, and their source of vain-glory, or to have it imagined, that their celebrated doctors had mistaken their method, with great ardour and zeal supported the credit of its jargon, in the eyes of the multitude. The cause of Christianity was better defended against the Jews, Mahometans, and Heathens, than it had been for many ages before. Marsilius Ficinus's *Truth of Christianity*, Savonarola's *Triumph of the cross*, Raymond de Sabunde's *Natural theology*, Alphonso de Spina's *Fortress of the faith*; with the refutations of the Jews by Perezius and Jerome of St Foi, and of the Saracens, by John de Turrecremata, were the most noted productions of that kind.

III. The state of practical religion was as deplorable as ever. From the treatise of Simeon of Thessalonica, concerning rites and heresies, it appears, that amidst all their distress, the Greeks had quite transformed the worship of God, into a splendid farce of pomp and vanity, calculated to attract the senses, and captivate the imagination of an ignorant and carnal multitude. To their numerous rites, they affixed subtle explications, all of them ill-grounded or whimsical. In the west, religious worship was reduced to a mere shew of pompous absurdities, and splendid trifles. The more rational pontiffs complained of the overgrown multitudes of ceremonies, festivals, and temples; yet almost every one distinguished his administration with some new institution. To commemorate the deliverance of Belgrade from the furious siege of the Turks, under Mahomet II. Calixtus III. in 1456, ordered the feast of our Saviour's transfiguration to be more solemnly observed, by all his spiritual subjects. In 1476, Sixtus IV. by express mandate, granted indulgences, to  
such

such as should devoutly observe the feast of Mary's sinless conception. The feast of her visitation of Elisabeth also began to be observed. The feast of the Trinity, which had already been observed for about five hundred years, was more solemnly appointed by Benedict XIII. and fixed to the first Lord's day after Whitsuntide. Many additions were made to the Roman ritual, concerning public and private prayers, indulgences, and the like. The title of our Saviour's cross, the iron of the spear which pierced his side, and the head of John Baptist, were said to be found. The public discourses were equally destitute of sense, order, spirit, devotion, and piety; a mere motley of gross fictions, and extravagant fancies.

Piety was supposed to consist wholly in the exact observance of ecclesiastical ceremonies; a profound veneration for the sacred orders, and their pontifical head; and in rendering the saints, or their clerical agents, propitious, by rich and frequent donations; and in purchasing indulgences, and paying the fines annexed to the different degrees of transgression. If any added to these certain forms of bodily austerities, they were reckoned the peculiar favourites of Heaven. But if one searched the scripture, and conducted his life according to the precepts or example of Christ, he scarce escaped the gibbet or stake, in an age when virtue and sense were looked upon as the most dangerous heresies. Meanwhile, the vices of all the clerical orders were so flagrant, that many reckoned them the best of Christians, and the most useful members of society, who, braving the terrors of persecution, inveighed, with the greatest fervour and freedom, against the court of Rome, and the whole tribe of its votaries. The pontifical schisms not a little encouraged this undesirable liberty.

About the beginning of the century, the rival pontiffs,



pontiffs, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. obliged themselves by oath to renounce their claim to the see, if that step should be found necessary for re-establishing the peace of the church. Both of them scandalously violated their oath. In 1409, the cardinals of both parties agreed to take upon them the calling of a general council at Pisa. Both the popes were condemned of heresy, perjury, and contumacy; and were deposed, and consigned to the devil; and Alexander V. was elected in their stead. This but added a third pontiff to the other two, who continued their functions, and retained their privileges. This schism becoming daily more and more detrimental to the civil and religious interests of Christendom, Sigismund emperor of Germany, Charles VI. of France, and several other princes of Europe, laboured to their utmost to restore the tranquillity of the church under one head. But none of the pontiffs could be persuaded to sacrifice their own ambition to the peace of the church. At last John XXIII. who had got himself made the successor of Alexander, intreated by the emperor, and in hopes it would prove favourable to his own interest, summoned a general council at Constance in 1414, and appeared thereat, with a great number of cardinals and bishops. Sigismund, and most of the German princes, were present. The other regents of the west, who could not attend in person, sent their ambassadors. It is said, the emperor and empress were attended by thirty thousand horse; and that there were three or four electors, three dukes, an hundred and twenty-eight counts, two hundred barons, and twenty-seven ambassadors, present. It seems the council consisted of three hundred and nine bishops, six hundred other ecclesiastics, twenty-four dukes, an hundred and forty counts, together with a number of lawyers, and other delegates.

In luxury, debauchery, and revelling, it rather resembled a carnival.

This council had forty-five sessions. In the fourth and fifth it was declared, that the pope is inferior to a general council, in the determining of matters of faith, in healing of schisms, and in reforming the head and members of the church. In the twelfth, pope John was deposed, as guilty of perjury, in violating the oath he had given at the beginning of the council, relative to his resignation of the chair, and on leaving the court in a clandestine manner; and of tyranny, Simony, witchcraft, murder, incest, and the like. Much about the same time, Gregory, quite decrepit with old age, did, by proxy, surrender up to the council his claim to the see. About two years afterwards, the council deposed Benedict, and elected Martin V. to be sole pontiff. Benedict maintained his claim till his death in 1423, and obliged his cardinals by oath to elect another in his stead. Clemens VIII. who succeeded him, was chosen by no more than two cardinals. But being supported by Alphonso I. of Sicily, he retained his claim, though with a sorry appearance, till 1429, when he resigned his pretensions; and Martin became the sole vicar of Christ.

For a considerable time, the laity had been denied the use of the cup in the eucharist, under pretence of the danger of spilling the deified wine, or staining their garments therewith, or its being disagreeable to some persons stomachs. One Peter of Dresden, and some others who followed his example, had lately dared to follow the command and pattern of Christ, in giving both elements to the people. To check this reviving heresy, the council ordered the communion to be administered to the laics only in bread; as they alledged the church had certainly found some good reason for laying aside the ancient method prescribed by Christ.

Christ. About 1407, Charles duke of Burgundy had hired a band of ruffians to assassinate Lewis duke of Orleans, brother of Charles the French king. While the city of Paris was in an uproar on account of this deed, John Petit, doctor of divinity in that place, maintained, that it was lawful for any man, by what means he could, and though contrary to sworn allegiance, to dispatch such insolent grandees, as abused their power and wealth to the ruin of their country. The university of Paris passed a severe decree against Petit. The cause came before the council, which, after much litigation, condemned the opinion, without mentioning the author. But pope Martin durst not ratify this act, for fear of the duke of Burgundy. When the council proceeded to the reformation of head and members of the church, the cardinals, and dignified clergy, did all that was in their power to hinder it. Martin, whenever he was raised to the pontificate, heartily joined them. With no small struggling it was agreed, the annates, or payment of their first year's revenues to the pope by the bishops, should be abolished. Eighteen other articles were proposed: but the council, after sitting three years and an half, was dissolved April 22. 1418, without effecting what was the great end of their meeting. Before they concluded, they agreed, that another council should be called five years afterward, to perfect what they could not overtake.

Notwithstanding all the shiftings of Martin, the council got assembled at Basil, just about the time of his death. When Eugenius perceived the assembled fathers to be in earnest for a general reformation of the church, he opposed their designs to the utmost of his power. Twice he attempted to dissolve them; but they maintained their superiority over him, and continued their meeting; and himself, in the end of 1433, was obliged, by a  
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missive, to acknowledge their authority. When they proceeded to their important work of reformation, the papal legates were admitted; but not till they had given their oath of adherence to the decision of Constance, relative to the superiority of a general council over the pope; and that they would submit to the council's decisions. These laws of Constance, which the pope beheld with horror, were solemnly renewed in June 1434. In 1435, the annates were finally discharged. In 1436, a confession of faith was formed for the pope to subscribe on the day of his election. The number of the cardinals was reduced to twenty-four. The papal impositions called *Expectatives*, *Provisions*, and *Reservatives*, were utterly prohibited.

Exasperated with these, and other similar proceedings, Eugenius resolved to transfer the council into Italy, where he might overawe it, or set up another in opposition thereto. The fathers at Basil refused to remove; and summoned Eugenius to their bar, to account for the trouble he had given them. Instead of obeying, he pretended to dissolve their council, and called another at Ferrara, in order to reconcile the Latins and Greeks. Supported by the emperor, the king of France, and other princes, the fathers continued their deliberations at Basil, declared the pope contumacious for refusing to obey their summons. Next year, he opened his council at Ferrara, and thundered forth an excommunication against them; soon after which, he removed his council to Florence, because of the plague. In 1439, the council of Basil deposed him from the pontificate, as guilty of notorious contumacy, schism, Simony, perjury, heresy, dilapidation of ecclesiastical revenues, and the like. Informed hereof, Eugenius with great rage devoted them all to everlasting damnation. Regardless of his thunders, they elected the duke of Savoy, who took the name of Felix V. to be vicar of Christ.

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The church was thrown into new confusions, by the rivalship of her two infallible heads. Most of the people acknowledged the authority of Eugenius. But many of the academies, especially the famed university of Paris, took part with Felix. Contention also raged between the rival councils of Basil and Florence. That of Florence concluded its deliberations in April 1442. Notwithstanding all that Eugenius and his adherents could do, the fathers at Basil proceeded in their work, enacting laws and edicts for reforming the church, till May 1443, having held forty-five sessions in all. When they dismissed, they declared, they were not dissolved; but would resume their deliberations at Basil, Lyons, or Lausanne, whenever a proper opportunity should offer.

Eugenius dying in 1447, was succeeded by Nicolas V. As he was of a peaceable and moderate temper, and a zealous patron of learning, Charles VII. of France persuaded Felix to resign in his favours. The fathers of Basil assembling at Lausanne in 1449, ratified his abdication; and ordered the church to accept of Nicolas for the sole vicar of Christ. Eneas Sylvius, who had rendered himself famous by his writings, and by his efforts to reform the church, becoming pontiff in 1458, under the name of Pius II. quickly rendered himself infamous by his contrary conduct. In 1460, he perfidiously and publicly declared, that the pope was subject to a general council; though he so vigorously maintained the contrary against Eugenius IV. and under the severest penalties, prohibited all appeals from the pope to a council. Next year, he obtained from Lewis XI. of France, an abolishment of the Pragmatic sanction, which Charles VII. in 1438, had compiled from the decrees of Basil, and enacted for restraining the tyrannical impositions of the popes; and by which, the superior authority of general councils is declared; the elections to va-

cant benefices restored to their ancient freedom; annates, and other pecuniary pretensions of the pontiffs, abolished. The vigorous opposition of the university of Paris, and Lewis's own conviction that he had been imposed on, prevented the full execution of this annulment. In 1463, Pius published a solemn recantation of all he had written, in favours of the council of Basil; and declared, that, as Eneas Sylvius, he was a damnable heretic; but, as Pius II. he was an orthodox pontiff. Forbearing to rake into the numerous enormities of Paul II. we shall only mention his malicious persecution of Platina, the excellent historian, and other learned men; his allowing the cardinals to wear their red hats and mitres of damask silk; and his shortening the time of the jubilee, to every twenty-fifth year. Alexander VI. was a very monster of impiety and wickedness. He contemptuously trampled on all the demands of religion and equity. He loaded his numerous bastards with riches and honours. It is said, his daughter Lucretia, who was married to one of his sons, was also her father's darling whore. He murdered the rich priests and cardinals of his court, that he might seize on their wealth. At last, he and Cesar Borgia, his infamous son, were poisoned, by unwittingly taking the fatal draught they had prepared for others.

The monks of the Benedictine and Augustinian orders, renouncing all regard to their rules, did, in the most scandalous manner, abandon themselves to ignorance, sloth, sensuality, and licentiousness. Nor, except in Suabia, Franconia, and Bavaria, could all the labours of Nicolas de Mafen, Nicolas Dunkelsfuhl, and Guy Juvenal, reform them. The Mendicants, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, indulged themselves in ambitious encroachments on the rights of others, enthusiastic zeal to promote superstition, and in idle, unintelligible,



ligible, and sometimes impious disputes. The theologians of most of the European academies complained of their introduction of dangerous errors, and carried their complaints before the pontiffs; some of whom patronized, and others opposed what was complained of. This tended to prolong the contentions. About 1351, the Dominicans and Franciscans had begun a warm dispute, what kind of worship is due to our Saviour's blood, whether the more divine *latreia*, or the inferior *dulia*. It was renewed about 1462. James of Marchia, a celebrated Franciscan, in one of his sermons, maintained, that the blood which Christ shed on the cross did not belong to his divine nature, and so was not the object of divine and immediate worship. The Dominicans furiously opposed this, and called him before the inquisition, which condemned him of heresy. After several ineffectual attempts to suppress this debate, Pius, in 1464, thought proper to silence both parties, declaring, that both might lawfully hold their respective opinions, till the vicar of Christ should deliberately consider and determine the point; which it seems, has never yet happened.

As vast numbers of the Beguines and Lollards, when persecuted, took refuge among the Tertiaries, or third order of Dominic, Francis, or Augustine, and were protected by them, this exposed their monkish protectors to the public odium, and involved them in manifold perplexities. As the austere Franciscans, under the names of *Fratricelli*, *Minims*, *Minorites*, *Tertiaries*, and *Beghards*, who chiefly swarmed about Ancona, and the places adjacent, continued to carry on an open war with the popes, Nicolas V. persecuted them with great severity; such as would not submit to the arguments of their mitigant brethren, nor to the terror of armies and magistrates, he committed to the flames. Paul II. pursued the persecuting measures,

though, it is said, he chose rather to conquer their spirits by prisons and banishment, than by fire and sword. Animated by the protection of several great men, who patronized them, on account of their striking appearance of sanctity, these Fratricelli sometimes opposed force to force, and put the murderous inquisitors to death. The persecution of these people occasioned their spread from Italy into other places. Bohemia, whose king supported them, and for that reason was delivered to Satan by Paul II. and Silesia, became their principal theatre, where they carried on their spiritual warfare with the pope and their conventual brethren; and preached up their favourite doctrine, that the true imitation of Christ consists in beggary and extreme poverty. Numbers of them also lurked about Tholouse, and the places about; but the inquisitors hunted them out, and committed them to the flames, as fast as they could. Some of their scattered remains fled to England and Ireland. No miseries extirpated them, till at last their reliques fell in with the reformation.

In this century, the new orders of *Montolivetans*; the *Canons of St George*; the *Mendicants of Jerome*; the *Minims of Jesus and Mary*; the *Penitent whores*; the *Penitents of St Dominic*; the *Society of the name Jesus*, whose business was to fight with the Turks; the *Societies of the blessed Virgin, and of the Rosary*, had their rise, or their revival. But none of these deserve so honourable mention, as the *Brethren and Clerks of the common life*, who adopted the rule of Augustine. This society had been formed in the preceding age, by Gerard de Groot, a native of Deventer in Holland. Having in this received the approbation of the council of Constance, it flourished in Holland, Low-Germany, and places about. It consisted of two classes, the *Clerks or Lettered brethren*, and the *Illiterate*, who lived together, in different habitations or apartments,

ments, but with the greatest union and harmony. The Clerks assiduously applied themselves to the study of polite learning, and to the instruction of youth; they composed books for the information of their brethren of mankind, and erected seminaries of learning where-ever they went. From these issued Desiderius Erasmus, Alexander Hegius, John Murnelius, and other immortal restorers of learning. These schools continued till the superior diligence of the Jesuites made them almost dwindle to nothing. The Illiterate brethren employed themselves, with great success, in the mechanical arts. Neither of these classes were under any vow; but had all things in common, as the bond of their union. The sisters of the society lived in the same manner; and besides assigning of some hours every day to reading and prayer, laboured in the education of girls, and in the various branches of industry proper to their sex.

IV. Contention and heresy still subsisted. To procure the assistance of the Latins against the Ottoman Turks, the Greeks shewed the utmost willingness towards terms of reconciliation with Rome. Messengers were sent, for this effect, to the council of Basil; and when that of Ferrara assembled, John Paleologus the emperor, with his most eminent doctors and bishops, attended it, in 1438. Pope Eugenius, by presents and promises, engaged Bessarion, an eloquent Greek, to his side. He, by his warm harangues, and by threatenings and promises, drew over all his brethren, except Mark of Ephesus, in the council of Florence, to an apparent acceptance of the papal terms. They imported, that the Greeks should believe the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son equally as from the Father; the purification of departed souls in infernal regions with some kind of fire, before they can be admitted to the presence of God; the

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lawfulness.



lawfulness of using wafers, or unleavened bread in the eucharist; and, which was the principal, that the Roman pontiff is the supreme judge and true head of the universal church. Bessarion, it seems, wisely remained at Rome; and not long after received a cardinal's hat, for the reward of his treachery. The other deputies from Greece, upon their return, reported the villanous manner in which things had been carried on at the council; and renewed the schism which had been so imperfectly healed. About 1450, Nicolas V. by his missives, intreated the Greeks to turn their thoughts to the restoration of peace and concord: but the ravages of the Turks prevented their attention. Constantinople having been taken about three years after, the Greeks have ever since heartily hated the Papists, to whose refusal to help them in their distress, they too justly impute the ruin of their empire, and all their subsequent miseries.

In Bosnia, Servia, and places adjacent, the Manicheans, Paulinists, or Catharists, propagated their doctrines with confidence and impunity. Stephen Thomascius king of Bosnia, their protector, once abjured their errors, and was baptized by John Carvaial, a Roman cardinal; and expelled these heretics from his dominions; but he soon after relapsed into their errors, and encouraged them. The brethren and sisters of the free spirit continued in France, Low-Countries, Germany, and Switzerland; but were so strictly hunted by the inquisitors, that few of their teachers escaped. When the Bohemian wars began, about 1418, a company of this sect went thither, under the direction of one John, where they were called *Adamites* or *Picards*, instead of Beghards. They held their first assemblies at Prague; and afterwards at other places, till at last they retired to an island of the Elbe. Pretending to have all their natural passions quite subdued, they appeared naked

ked at their assemblies; and reckoned such in lamentable bondage, as used clothes, especially to cover the middle parts of the body. This, perhaps without ground, made these fanatics universally suspected of the most scandalous incontinence. Giving ear to these reproaches, Zisca, the Bohemian general, fell upon them, in 1421, put some to the sword, and the rest to the flames; which they endured with amazing cheerfulness, and contempt of death.

The *White brethren* took their rise in the beginning of this century; but whether from Scotland, or rather from Savoy, or Switzerland, we cannot certainly determine. A priest arrayed in white garments was their leader. Great numbers of both sexes followed him in robes of a similar colour. They went forward in a kind of procession, following their chief, under the banner of a white cross erected as their standard. Their striking appearance of sanctity and devotion, captivated the stupid populace, where-ever they went; and numbers of all ranks flocked into their society. It seems, their linen robes went to their heels, and their caps covered their whole face except their eyes. They travelled in troops of ten, twenty, or forty thousand, calling for mercy from God, and singing hymns. During their pilgrimage, which was ordinarily of nine or ten days at a time, they fasted, or lived on bread and water. Their clerical chief emaciated his body with voluntary acts of mortification and penance; and instigated his followers to appease the offended Deity by the same means. Pretending to have had directory visions for that effect, he called upon the European princes to renew the war against the infidel-profaners of the Holy land. Boniface IX. suspecting his insidious designs, as he approached towards Rome, got him apprehended at Viterbo, and burnt  
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at Rome, about 1404 ; after which his followers quickly dispersed.

About 1411, a sect ironically called the *men of understanding*, and perhaps a branch of the brethren of the free spirit, took their origin from Egidius Cantor, an illiterate person, and William of Hildenissen, a Carmelite monk. They made their chief appearance about Bruffels, and its environs : and pretended, that no man could arrive at a perfect knowledge of the scripture, without the assistance of extraordinary revelations ; that a more clear and perfect gospel should be quickly revealed ; that the resurrection was already fully accomplished, in the person of Jesus ; that the soul is not defiled by the deeds of the outward man ; that after some ages, devils and men shall return to God, and partake of endless felicity, the pains of hell being for ever extinguished. But I suppose, their holding, that Christ alone merited eternal life for men ; that he alone, not the priests, has power to forgive sin ; and that voluntary penance and mortifications of the body are not necessary to salvation, were reckoned the worst of their heresies by their pontifical persecutors.

The Whippers continued to excite no small commotions in Thuringia, Lower Saxony, and other places of Germany. It appears, they reckoned the Romish opinion concerning the efficacy of the sacraments in securing salvation, and concerning purgatory, prayer for the dead, and the like, absolutely groundless : and maintained, that whosoever believes the contents of the apostle's creed, and frequently repeats the Lord's prayer, and the Ave Maria, and at certain times severely lashes his body, as a voluntary punishment of sin, shall obtain eternal life. Conrad Schmidt, their Thuringian chief, with a vast number of his followers, was committed to the flames by Henry Schonfeld, the zealous lord of the inquisition. Many of the  
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sect in other places suffered a similar fate from these holy correctors.

But the Papalins chiefly wrecked their rage and hatred upon such as truly held the testimony of Jesus, in opposition to their abominations. In Pomerania, Brandenburg, and the districts of Magdeburg and Thuringia, where vast numbers of the Waldenses still subsisted, they were hunted out, and committed to the flames, by the lords of the inquisition. They nevertheless lifted up their voice, and cried aloud for assistance to the expiring cause of religion and virtue. Some, as John Wessalia of Worms, though convinced of the truth, fainted in the critical hour, and recanted. In Britain, the disciples of Wickliff, to whom it seems some Bohemians had joined themselves, appeared for the truth. Henry IV. and V. of England terribly persecuted them. William Sawtre, Thomas Badby, and Sir John Oldcastle, were condemned and burnt. John Resby an Englishman, and Paul Craw a Bohemian, and some others, were burnt in Scotland. It was impossible, however, to root them out. In Italy, Savonarola, and others, publicly espoused the cause of truth. After he had preached some years, and diffused an eminent savour of true piety all-around, he was condemned in 1498, and burnt. He endured his sufferings in the most patient and Christian manner.

But the principal struggle was on the side of Bohemia. Towards the end of the eleventh century, the Bohemians had dared, though without success, to insist for the public worship of God in a language they understood. Many of the Waldenses had since illuminated that country with the light of truth. Before the death of Wickliff, John Hus, though young, was become famous, and received letters from the English reformer, if he did not actually visit him in Britain. Peter Payne, a disciple of Wickliff, went and settled in Bohemia. He,

no doubt, carried part of his master's writings along with him. About 1408, we find Skynko, archbishop of Prague, searching for the tracts of Wickliff, in order to burn such as were unsound. Meanwhile John Hufs, with great fervour, declaimed against the prevalent errors and corruptions of the Romish church. About 1408, he began to use his endeavours to withdraw the university of Prague from the jurisdiction of pope Gregory, whom the king of Bohemia acknowledged. This mightily incensed the bishop and his clergy, who were attached to Gregory's interests. John still exclaimed against the vices of the Roman court, and the corruptions of the sacerdotal order.

Other incidents also inflamed the clerical resentment against him. He was a Realist, and in the manner of that barbarous age, persecuted the Nominals, whose power in the university was great. When Charles IV. of Germany had founded that university, he had divided it to the four nations adjacent, the Bohemians, Poles, Saxons, and Bavarians. But the Bohemians had three fourths of the governing power. The other three, called *Germans*, becoming vastly more numerous, assumed each an equal share of authority with the Bohemians, and left them in possession of no more than a fourth vote in the government. By his address and credit, Hufs got the court to reduce the power of the foreigners to its original standard. The German doctors were highly offended. Hoffman the rector retired to Leipzig, where Frederic the Saxon chief had just founded the still flourishing academy. Nay, it is said, that five thousand, or, as others, twenty-four thousand, thirty-six thousand, or forty-four thousand of the Polish, Saxon, and Bavarian doctors and students retired from Prague on that occasion.

After their departure, John declaimed with more plainness and vehemence than ever against the clerical

rical corruptions; and recommended the writings of Wickliff. The exasperated clergy accused him to pope John XXIII. by whom he was solemnly consigned into the hands of the devil. Regardless of this anathema, Hufs continued his fervent and zealous testimony against the prevalent corruptions. His fortitude and zeal were almost universally applauded; and multitudes received the knowledge of the truth. Trusting to the emperor Sigismund's promise of safe conduct, he, upon citation, repaired to the council of Constance, where the books of his hero, Wickliff, were condemned, to defend himself. His doctrine seems to have differed but little from that of the church; but he inveighed against her practical corruptions, as was done almost every where, and even in the face of the council. He fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the Bohemian clergy, whose vices he had exposed; of the Nominal philosophers, whom he had opposed; and of the Germans, whose power in the university he had reduced. His accusation was managed with such craft and falsehood, that, contrary to the faith of his safe conduct, he was condemned and burnt on the spot; the council pretending that no faith is to be kept with heretics. Hufs bore his sufferings in the most pious, cheerful, and magnanimous manner. Jerome his friend, who had come up to assist him at the council, soon after shared the like fate. At first, the terrors of a cruel death made him appear willing to recant. But finding his submission did not procure him relief from his prison, he recovered his courage, boldly professed his opinions, and maintained them, till he expired in the flames, *A. D. 1416.*

The perfidious murder of Hufs and Jerome, by a council convened to reform the church, inflamed the zeal of their followers. Persecuted, and part of them murdered by the creatures of the Roman court, they retired to a steep and high mountain in  
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the district of Bechin; and there held their religious meetings, and administered the Lord's supper in both elements, which the council had refused to allow. This mountain they called *Tabor*,—from the tents which they at first erected for lodgings. But, in process of time, they raised a fortification for its defence; and adorned it with a well-built regular city. They chose Nicolas de Hufinet, and John Ziska, a Bohemian knight, for their captains; under whose direction they resolved to revenge the death of their ministers and brethren on the papal dupes; and to procure for themselves a liberty of worshipping God, in a way more rational than that of the Romish church. Nicolas dying in 1420, Ziska was sole commander, and had the pleasure to see his army daily increase. Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, had attempted to execute the decrees of the council of Constance against the Hussites. The inhabitants of Prague fell upon the magistrates who published the orders, killed them, and committed several other outrages; which so terrified the king, that he died of an apoplectic fit, in 1419. Sigismund, the emperor, succeeding to his crown, laboured, by edicts, by penal laws, and by force of arms, to put an end to these lamentable divisions. Multitudes of the Hussites perished by his orders, in the most barbarous manner. In 1420, they threw off his yoke as tyrannical, and entered into an open war. Ziska, their general, though deprived of his sight, discovered such prudence and intrepidity, that his name quickly became a terror to his foes; and in eleven battles, successively fought, he is said to have routed the imperial troops. After his death, in 1424, Procopius Raza was, by the majority of the Hussites, chosen general in his stead; and carried on the war with great spirit and success. As both the Papists and Hussites reckoned their opponents the enemies of the true religion, whom they thought it lawful to extirpate with fire and sword,

sword, it is no wonder we meet with acts of barbarity on both sides, shocking and terrible.

At first the Hussites seem to have had all the same religious sentiments; but their numbers increasing, their union and harmony diminished. After much dissension, they came to an open rupture, about 1424, and were divided into the two large bodies of Calixtines and Taborites. The Calixtines, so called from their demand of the eucharistic cup to the people, only insisted, that the word of God should be explained to the people, in a simple and plain manner, without the mixture of human authorities; that the Lord's supper should, according to his example and command, be dispensed to the people in both elements; that the clergy, instead of applying their whole attention and labour to acquire power and wealth, should exert themselves in preaching the gospel, instructing the people, and setting before them an example of an holy life; and that the *mortal*, or more heinous sins should be properly punished. Some of them also insisted, that baptism should not be administered to infants, who cannot act or profess their faith. The Taborites insisted to have the whole of religion reduced to its primitive and scriptural simplicity; to have the papal authority destroyed, and the system of church-government reformed according to the ancient plan prescribed by Christ and his apostles; and, in fine, that all things in the church should be regulated by the oracles of God, and not by the dictates or decisions of fallible, or even wicked men. Some of them, as Martin Lohuis, and his followers, imagined that Christ would descend from heaven in person, armed with fire and sword, to extirpate heresy, and purify the church; and publicly taught these dreams with the utmost assurance. It was this enthusiastic sect, perhaps instigated by the Papists, which committed most of the acts of violence, rapine, desolation, and murder,

which are too indiscriminately charged to the account of the whole of the Hussites, especially of Ziska and Procopius, their leaders.

To put an end to this dreadful war, the Bohemians were invited to the council of Basil in 1431; and Procopius, and others, were sent to represent them. But after much debate, their messengers returned, without having effected any degree of reconciliation with Rome. The council, however, finding that the Calixtines might be easily gratified, sent the famed Eneas Sylvius, Nidar, and others, to deal with them in Bohemia. By allowing their laity the use of the cup, and perhaps some other small indulgences, they were got satisfied, and reconciled to the pope; and became equally, if not more cruel towards the Taborites, than even the rigid Papalins. They destroyed Tabor, their city of refuge. One Maynard, the rival of Podiebrad, and perhaps others, decoyed them into hovels or houses, and burnt them to death. Rokizana, a perfidious preacher, who headed the Calixtines, having obtained an archbishopric, could not have consecration at Rome, unless he renounced the use of the cup in the sacrament for the laity. Not daring to comply, for fear of offending his party, he returned home, and, together with his followers, thundered forth the bitterest invectives against the Roman court, while they laboured to persecute, and to ensnare the Taborites. Supported by Podiebrad viceroy of Bohemia, under Ladislaus the young king of Hungary, and afterwards king, Rokyzana, about 1450, commenced a correspondence with the Greek church, who were then heartily enraged at the court of Rome, on account of her treacherous conduct at the council of Florence. The Bohemians under Ziska, Procopius, and Podiebrad, carried on an almost constant war with the Papists, from 1420 to 1470.

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The Taborites adhered inflexibly to their first principles; nor could all the sophistry, eloquence, or craft of Sylvius, nor threats, nor persecutions, induce them to yield. Being separated from the Calixtines, they withdrew from war, and reviewed their religious tenets, and ecclesiastical discipline, in order to correct, by the scripture, whatever was amiss. What they found inconsistent with the gospel, they rejected; and they banished from their communion all these whose disordered brains, or licentious manners, might expose them to reproach. They introduced a form of church-government much the same with the Presbyterian; or similar to that Episcopacy proposed by archbishop Usher, in which bishops are little more than constant moderators of the clerical courts. They had their general and particular synods. In their worship, they retained several of the rites invented in the first ages of Christianity. They divided their people into four distinct classes; the *beginners*, the *advancers*, the *perfects*, and the *penitents*. Their doctrine was much the same with that of the Protestant churches. They called themselves the *Bohemian Brethren*; but their enemies called them *Picards*, or *Beghards*. Notwithstanding of terrible persecution, they continued till the reformation, and joined with the Lutherans, and the reformed. Many of their descendants and followers are still found in Poland, and places about.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

SECT. I.

*Of the eastern churches.*

**T**HE eastern church has long been distinguished into four principal bodies; the Greek church, the Nestorians, the Monophysites, and the votaries of Rome. The Greek church agrees with the patriarch of Constantinople, in religious sentiments and form of worship; but is not wholly subject to his authority. He indeed is spiritual governor of a considerable part of Greece, and of Walachia and Moldavia, the Grecian isles, and several other provinces subject to the Ottoman Turks. He is also superior to the Catholic patriarch of Antioch, who generally resides at Damascus, and extends his jurisdiction into Syria, Mesopotamia, and the places about; and of the patriarch of Jerusalem, who governs in Arabia and Palestine; and of the Catholic patriarch of Alexandria, who generally resides at Grand Cairo, and rules in Egypt, Nubia, Lybia, and part of Arabia. It is his prerogative to name the candidates for these sees; but they are chosen by their own bishops. As the Melchites are almost extirpated out  
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of these regions, the Eutychians, especially in Egypt, having instigated the Saracens and Turks to destroy them, and even assisted them in that barbarous work, the dominion of these three subordinate patriarchs is not much worth the coveting. Nay, most of the dignitaries of the Greek church have little to support their grandeur besides their venerable name.

The patriarch of Constantinople is chosen by twelve bishops, which live next to his see: but the Grand Seignior, or Ottoman Sultan, has the power of confirming the election, and of enabling him to exercise his spiritual function. Through the avarice of the Turkish vizirs, or ministers of state, this claim is often prostituted in the most shameful manner. None need expect admission to the patriarchate, without large presents to them; to refund which, the patriarchs are obliged to oppress their inferior clergy. Such donatives have more influence in procuring the see, than either the merit of the candidates, or the favour of the electors. Too often, candidates lawfully chosen and installed, have been deposed to make way for others, whose superior pretensions were only ambition and bribery. The power of this patriarch is very considerable. The people under his charge are pretty numerous. Besides these in Asia, about two thirds of the inhabitants of Turkey in Europe, are Christians of the Greek church. Sundry of the isles in the Mediterranean are almost wholly inhabited by Greeks. By permission from the Sultan, he takes cognizance of the civil affairs of these of his communion. By virtue of his spiritual dignity, he calls the synods of his clergy, and presides therein. He also excommunicates the disobedient, which renders him a singular terror to these of his way. His revenues are drawn from the various churches under his jurisdiction; and are of value, in proportion to the temporal circumstances of his subjects.



The scriptures of the Old and New Testament, with the decrees of the first seven general councils, are the acknowledged standard of the Grecian faith. But the patriarch, and his clerical brethren, are supposed to have the sole power of declaring the meaning of these standards. The substance of the Grecian doctrine is contained in the Confession of the catholic and apostolic eastern church, drawn up by Mogislaus bishop of Kiow, in his Russian synod; and which Parthenius, patriarch of Constantinople, adopted in 1643; and Sangiota, the Sultan's interpreter, caused it to be printed in Greek and Latin, with a recommendatory letter from Nectarius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and distributed gratis among the Greeks for their instruction. From this tract it appears, that the differences between the Greeks and the Papists, or between them and the Protestant church, are greater and harder to be removed, than some writers pretend. Experience too has often vouched the truth hereof. Soon after the middle of this century, Melancthon sent to Joseph, patriarch of Constantinople, a copy of the Augsбург confession, attended with a most affectionate letter, representing the Protestant doctrine in the most simple manner. The haughty patriarch disdained to return him an answer: but in 1559, he sent Demetrius his deacon, to inform himself on the spot, of the genius and doctrines of the Protestant religion. About 1579, the divines of Tubingen renewed the correspondence with Jeremiah his successor; sent him a copy of their Augsбург confession, with Heerbrand's compend of theology, and employed every method in their power to draw him to their communion. All the fruit of four or five years labour, was a few friendly missives to them; and which plainly shewed the impossibility of the union they desired; and that all attempts to draw the Greeks from their opinions, and

and ancient institutions, were like to be vain in their present circumstances.

Since the Greeks were subjected to the oppressive Ottoman yoke, almost all learning, human and divine, has been extinguished among them. They have neither colleges nor schools of any importance. The few who surpass the vulgar herd in intellectual acquirements, have derived them from the schools of Italy or Sicily, whither their studious youth repair for instruction; or from the perused works of Thomas Aquinas, and other ancient doctors. It is true, the Greeks are extremely averse to acknowledge this charge, but pretend, that the liberal arts are in as flourishing an estate among them as ever. Cantemir, prince of Moldavia, in his Turkish history, gives us a list of learned men, in the seventeenth century, and an account of an academy founded by Manolax at Constantinople, in which all the branches of philosophy, and the liberal arts and sciences, are taught, with great applause and success, in the manner of ancient Greece. But all this, though strictly true, could only prove, that in a numerous multitude, generally sunk into the most barbarous ignorance, some men of genius arise, and shine as meteors in a gloomy firmament; and that about an hundred years ago, one academy has been erected in an extensive empire. The ignorance that reigns among the Greeks, has a most pernicious influence on their morals. Licentiousness, impiety, endless contention and divisions, abound among them, both clergy and people. Their religious worship is a motley collection of ceremonies; the greatest part of which are ridiculously trifling, or shockingly absurd; and it is for the maintenance of these they are peculiarly zealous. Meanwhile, were it not for the support they receive from such as are physicians and interpreters, at the Grand Seignior's court, they and their church would have been absolutely miserable: but  
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it is said, their condition has of late undergone a change to the better.

The Russians adhere to the doctrine and ceremonies of the Greek church; though they are now independent on the patriarch of Constantinople. Anciently they were a part of his subjects, and had their patriarch assigned them by him: but about the end of this century, they obtained their freedom by the following incident. Jeremiah, the Constantinopolitan chief, undertook a journey to Muscovy, to levy pecuniary assistance, for driving Metrophanes his rival from the patriarchal throne. On this occasion, the Russian monks, probably instigated by the secret orders of Theodore, the king or grand duke, employed all their influence, both of supplication and threatening, to cause Jeremiah place at the head of their nation an independent prelate. He assembled a council at Moscow, in 1589; nominated and proclaimed Job archbishop of Rostow, the first patriarch of the Muscovites; but on this condition, that every new patriarch of Russia should demand the consent and suffrage of the Constantinopolitan, and at fixed seasons, should pay him five hundred ducats of gold. The deeds of this council were ratified, in another of Constantinople, in 1593; to which ratification the Ottoman Sultan gave his consent. About 1650, the four eastern patriarchs, solicited by the grand duke of Muscovy, exempted the Russian pontiff from all dependance on Constantinople, and rendered him absolutely free.

The Russians have the Bible in the Slavonic tongue; the first impression thereof was printed in 1581. But till 1715, if not later, a copy of it cost about five or six pounds sterling. Few of them can read it. Nor do even many of their clergy understand it, though they make a shift to read it, no doubt wretchedly enough, to the people. But except the New Testament, the Prophets, and some parts:



parts of the Psalms, they little regard the scripture. And under pretence of modesty, they will not allow the four last books of Moses to be carried to their churches. Their public worship consists chiefly of trifling ceremonies, and long masses: none but their choristers sing in their churches. Preaching is very little used in Russia. Even in the beginning of the seventeenth century, some of their priests were excommunicated for attempting it. Most of their clergy are extremely poor; and so ignorant, that they do not understand the language of their Bible. Nor are many of their dignified clergy much more intelligent. Their gravity and devotion procure them great reverence from the people. In the whole empire of Russia, which extends almost six thousand miles in length, and two thousand three hundred in breadth, there are but twenty-eight bishops, the paucity of whom, perhaps, tends to the peace of their church.

The Russians hold three sacraments; but do not think extreme unction absolutely necessary to salvation, as they do the other two. They reckon their own form of baptism altogether necessary to escape damnation; and therefore rebaptize such as come to them from other Christian communions. They receive the eucharist in both kinds: but the pieces of bread are put into red wine mixed with warm water; and then, along with a little wine, so mixed, given to the communicants in a spoon. Their sacramental bread must be leavened wafers, baken by a priest's widow. Each wafer has the sign of the cross upon it, which the priests take off with an instrument after consecration, and put into a wooden box, that hangs over the altar. Such as through sickness, or otherwise, cannot swallow the bread, take only the wine. Their devotees sleep after receiving the eucharist, that they may not sin any more that day. What of the consecrated bread remains, is by the priests distributed  
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among the communicants the next Sabbath. Formerly, consecrated bread used to be sent to the country, where there was no priest; and was given to travellers and soldiers before they set out on their journies. Almost every Russian receives the eucharist at Easter, after eight days of severe mortification. Even infants, if sick, have it administered to them in one kind: and at seven years of age, when they begin to sin mortally, they have it dispensed to them in both elements. They administer it to distracted persons, by touching their lips with the bread soaked in the wine. They use auricular confession before communicating; and make it standing in the middle of the church, with their eyes fixed upon some saint; and, as they reckon every sin confessed to the priest to be really forgiven, they use to be pretty particular. When the priest absolves them, he ordinarily enjoins some penance, as to repeat so many times, *Lord, have mercy on us*; abstinence from the other sex for a time; bowing before the pictures of saints, or the use of holy water. When a Russian dies, some of the principal clergy give him a testimonial of his good works towards God, the saints, and the clergy, which is put between his fingers, in order to procure him a ready admission into heaven.

Their churches are filled with miserable pictures of the saints; and even every chamber in their house has a guardian saint in the corner. At their private devotions, they kneel before the picture of Christ, of Mary, or of St Nicolas their protector, and crossing themselves, they repeat the Lord's prayer, and, *Lord, have mercy on us*. Even persons of high rank, in the way of penance, prostrate themselves at the doors of the church. Such as are conscious of their impurity, stand at the door in the time of worship. They fast every Wednesday and Friday; abstaining from flesh, eggs, butter, or milk. They observe four Lents; during  
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which they have daily service in their churches. The first is that before Easter, and which is preceded by a carnival, or luxurious revel of eight days. The second is St Peter's fast, beginning the Monday after Whitsuntide, and continuing at least eight days. The third is St Mary's fast, on the first fourteen days of August. And the fourth is St Philip's, which continues about forty days before Christmas. But nothing do the Russians more regard than holy water, which is believed to wash away all sin. On the Epiphany, or twelfth day after Christmas, they with great solemnity consecrate whole rivers of it. After the patriarch or principal bishop, with his clergy, and the pictures of Christ and the saints, have made a solemn procession to the place, an hole is made in the ice, and by dipping of the sign of the cross, by casting in salt, and by prayers and conjurations, the devil is forced out of the water: but before this be done, every door and window within a considerable distance around must be crossed, to prevent his fleeing into the house for refuge. After the consecration, they plunge their children, and others, both men and women, some naked and some with their clothes on, into the river, though the cold is apt to freeze them to death. Many even bring their horses to drink of the sanctified stream. Bucket-fulls of it are carried off for drink, and for curing the sick, and sanctifying them to God.

The Georgians and Mengrelians have declined so remarkably, since they fell under the Ottoman yoke, that they, chiefly the latter, can scarcely be reckoned among Christians, and some of them hardly among men, they are so ignorant and savage. They have a pontiff at their head, whom they call *Catholic*, as also about eighteen bishops, and plenty of priests; but such as are a disgrace to their character, or even to the Christian name, by their ignorance, avarice, and profligacy. Vicious in the highest



highest degree, they neither can, nor in the least care, to instruct their people; and any small remains of worship, in festivals, ceremonies, baptism, and the Lord's supper, are administered without the least appearance of gravity and devotion. It is said, they build their churches on high rocks, and most think it enough if they look to them at a distance. Whether the Russian conquests on that side has in any degree tended to reform these nations, we do not certainly know.

The Nestorians or Chaldeans, who for many ages made so illustrious a figure in the east, were exceedingly decreased. We have already hinted, that their detestation of the council of Ephesus, and their belief, that Nestorius was unjustly condemned in it, together with their maintaining, that in Christ there are two persons of God and man so closely joined, as to have but one *barsopa* or *aspect*, are the badges that distinguish them from other Christians; and that their difference, relative to Christ, from the orthodox, is perhaps only, or chiefly in words. It is certain, they have avoided a multitude of superstitions, which have disfigured the Greek and Latin churches. For many ages, the Nestorians had but one *Catholic* pontiff, who resided in Chaldaea, at Bagdad, called sometimes Babylon, and afterwards at Mosul. About 1552, two candidates, Simeon Harmama, and John Sulaka, were chosen at once; the one of which, to strengthen his interest, repaired to Rome, and put himself under the papal protection. He, and his successors, who had the common name of Simeon, and dwelt in Ormia, a mountainous track of Persia, for a while continued their subjection to Rome; but for some time past they seem to have withdrawn it. The principal Nestorian pontiffs, who bear the name of *Elias*, and reside at Mosul, have a very extensive dominion, comprehending the Nestorian churches of Arabia, as well as these spread through Syria, Mesopotamia,

mia, Persia, and places about, and the Christians of St Thomas, who dwell along the coasts of Malabar, or any others of their opinion, in the Mogul empire.

The Monophysites, Eutychians, or Jacobites, in general, hold, that Christ's two natures are united without confusion or mixture, so that, though his united natures are but one, *the Word incarnate*, yet they are in some sense twofold and compound; and reject with abhorrence the council of Chalcedon, which condemned Eutyches; and follow the doctrine of Dioscorus, Barsuma, Xenais, Fullo, Jacob Zanzal, and others, whom they reckon the chiefs of their sect. In defending their tenets, they do not appeal to scripture or reason, but to the authority of their fathers; nor indeed can such ignorant persons understand this mysterious dispute. They are divided into the *Asiatic* and *African*. At the head of the former, is their patriarch of Antioch, who lives for the most part at the monastery of Ananias, near Merdin, and sometimes at Amida, Aleppo, or some other city of Syria. As the churches over which he presides, are too much dispersed, and too numerous for one to inspect, he has a colleague, called *Maphrian* or *Primate* of the east, whose jurisdiction lies on the east of the Tigris. He formerly resided at Tauris in Persia; but now has his habitation in the monastery of St Matthew, near Mosul, in Mesopotamia. All the Syrian patriarchs assume the name of *Ignatius*.

The African Monophysites are subdivided into Copts and Abyssinians, both being under the jurisdiction of their Alexandrian patriarch. The Copts who dwell in Egypt, Nubia, and places adjacent, are in a truly deplorable condition. Oppressed by the insatiable avarice and tyranny of the Ottoman Turks, whom, it is said, they, about 1517, welcomed into Egypt, and assisted to oppress and murder their Melchite brethren, they can scarce

support either themselves or their priests. But these must depend on the liberality of such Copts, as, by their dexterity in household-affairs, or in useful arts unknown to the Turks, gain admission into the principal Mahometan families. It is true, the Turks confirmed to them their privileges, on account of the zeal they had manifested for their cause. But in a country governed by slaves, and so distant from the Sultan, privileges have no great force. According to Hottinger, and some other historians, their doctrine and manner of worship are somewhat similar to that of the Protestant church. They worship no images; but have pictures of scripture-history, set up in their churches for instruction. They communicate four times a-year in both elements, and make a solemn vow while they receive them. There is no singing during their communicating, but the congregation meditate on the sacred mysteries. According to others, they appear in a less agreeable light. They are extremely ignorant; and count it very sinful to pretend to more wisdom than their ancestors, or to forsake their opinions, or even expressions. Hence, however obstinately they resisted the attempts of the Romish missionaries, the Melchites, or Christians of the Greek church, were almost the only persons who could dispute. Their patriarch cannot be deposed, but for heresy or apostacy. He is obliged to preach once a-year to his clergy; but none of the inferior clergy are obliged to preach at all; but to read homilies and legends to the people. Their public liturgy is in the ancient Coptic language, though few, even of their clergy, understand it. Their young deacons of eight or nine years old labour in the lowest services of their eucharistical mass; and receive that sacrament as often as it is administered. In dispensing the eucharist, and perhaps on other occasions, their priests officiate in white garments, marked with red



red crosses. They suffer their children to live many months, or even years, or even to die without baptism; nor, out of hatred to the Greeks and Armenians, will they allow of any private baptism, or of baptism by women. They practise only general and public confession of sin. They strictly abstain from flesh in Lent; but pay little regard to the Christian Sabbath. Their priests are allowed to marry; and marriage is contracted by the symbolical ring. They admit divorce on very trifling grounds; but the patriarch must be paid for granting it. They observe several Jewish ceremonies, with more zeal than many of the precepts of the gospel. They circumcise their children of both sexes; the males on the fortieth, and the females on the eightieth day from their birth. Their monks much resemble the Jewish Essenes.

In numbers, power, and opulence, the Abyssinians far surpass the Copts; and no wonder, when they have a Christian emperor at their head, and a legal establishment under him. For a time the Ethiopian church was like to be torn to pieces, and quite ruined, between the Melchites and Monophysites; but at last the latter, called also Dioscorians, carried all before them. They own the authority of the three first general councils, and some provincial ones; they receive the whole of the Old and New Testament, except the Revelation; instead of which they have the *Apostolic constitutions*, but much different from these used in Europe. They have no colleges or universities; but learn their religion at home, or in the church. The Romish missionaries erected some schools among them; but their acting of plays, in which devils were represented, terrified the Abyssinians, and made them cry for the expulsion of these devil-raisers out of their country. Their *Abuna* or patriarch, is dependent on the Alexandrian; and is very ignorant and negligent. He is often a lay-

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monk,

monk, and is the only bishop of the empire; but has a number of vicars under him, for regulating the priests. Their deacons are often formed of the royal family, or of the other grandees, or of their children. Both priests and deacons are allowed to marry, and their children are in great esteem. They have no seats in their churches, but all stand during the divine service; at which their diptaras attend with drums, tabors, and dances. They allow only of painted images.

They hold only two sacraments. They baptize by a triple dipping. They use godfathers; but whether they engage as sponsors, we know not. They, at the same time, anoint the body with the sacred chrism, and give the child the Lord's supper. They reckon baptism absolutely necessary to salvation. But their manner of exorcism, and of blessing the water, and of dipping, seems to differ in some places. In honour of our Saviour's baptism, they wash themselves every year on the Epiphany, or sixth of January; but except in the case of returning apostates, this is not reckoned a reiteration of baptism, but a relique of some Jewish ablution. What some call their baptism of fire, by the impression of a red-hot iron on the nose and forehead, is really no part of their religion; but a means they use to prevent sore or blind eyes. The Lord's supper is dispensed only in their churches. They use leavened bread, and the juice of raisins squeezed in water instead of wine. The laity receive both elements. They believe no transubstantiation. They receive it standing, but without any sign of adoration. The laity receive it at the door of the chancel or choir, while a portion of the gospel is read to them out of the chapel. They have their masses for the dead. They anoint their sick in the church; but they do not consider this as a sacrament, but rather as a means of cure. They pray to angels and saints, especially

especially the deified Virgin, and highly honour their reliques. Though they allow of no purgatory, yet they pray for the dead, and hire their monks with alms, to pray much and fervently for their speedy and additional felicity. They practise great lamentation over their dead, especially their emperors; but I do not know, if they account this a part of their religion. Confession of sin is made in public, and the transgressor receives so many lashes from the abuna, or from an officer appointed by him.

Once the Ethiopian empire swarmed with monks, very different from these of the Latins and Greeks, but similar to the Jewish Essenes, or Therapeutæ. They are very abstinent and laborious, and some of them are married. They do not lash their bodies; but plunge them into cold rivers for the mortification of their lusts. Their monasteries are mostly in deserts; and in them, every thing is simple and mean. The Galles or Giagas, in their murderous ravages of the empire, have exceedingly reduced the number of monks, scarce leaving one of a thousand in some places. The Abyssinians practise a great number of Jewish rites, which they perhaps derived from the Rechabites, who might have retired thither about the time of the Jews Chaldean captivity. They live much in tents and camps, and are much given to neglect agriculture, and to abstain from wine. They circumcise their children of both sexes; observe the seventh-day Sabbath, though with less regard than the Christian; abstain from blood and swines flesh; raise up feed to deceased brethren, and the like; but they consider these practices rather as political customs, or conducive to natural purity, than as branches of practical religion. They keep at the greatest distance from such as they think profess a false religion. Whatever kindness their emperor



Basilides marked to his neighbours, the Mahomedan princes, in order to secure himself against the Spaniards, and their missionaries, there is no evidence he inclined to Mahomedism itself, or intended to introduce it into his dominions. Nay, it is hard to say, how much that people have done and suffered, to withstand the various attempts made to convert, or rather force them into the Arabian faith. They never eat with Mahometans, nor of any thing killed by them; nor even out of the same vessel, till the devil has been first driven out of it, by prayer and a triple bathing. Nor do they ever salute them but with the left hand.

The Armenians agree with their Monophyrite brethren in Asia and Africa, in what relates to the council of Chalcedon, and the person and natures of Christ; but so differ from them in other points of faith, discipline, and worship, that they hold no communion with them. The Armenians have three patriarchs resident in their own country, and as many that do not. Of these in their own country, the greatest resides near Echmiazin, and has forty-two bishops under his jurisdiction, which extends to all Greater Armenia. He is for the most part chosen by the bishops, and the election is confirmed by the Persian monarch. Notwithstanding of his large revenues, he lives in as plain and simple a manner, as the common monks. The second or catholic patriarch resides at Cis, a city of Cilicia; and rules over the Armenian churches in Cappadocia, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Syria. He has twelve bishops under him; and is now subject to the patriarch of Echmiazin. The third, who has about eight or nine bishops under him, resides in Aghtamar, an island in the Varaspurcan lake; and is looked upon by the other Armenians, as an enemy to their church.

Of the three other ecclesiastical rulers, dignified with the patriarchal character, but almost wholly destitute

destitute of power, one resides at Constantinople, whose business it is to govern the Armenian churches on the confines of Asia and Europe. The second resides at Jerusalem, to govern such Armenians as repair thither, in pilgrimage, or for trade. The third resides at Kaminiek, to govern the Armenian churches in Poland, Russia, and places adjacent. The extensive application of the Armenians to merchandise, is the principal occasion of these three patriarchs. They assume this title, because, by authority from the pontiff of Echmiazin, they are allowed to consecrate bishops; and on every third year distribute among their congregations the sacred chrism; both which, in the manner of the east, are the prerogatives of a patriarch.

The Armenians not only do not worship the cross and images, but solemnly curse such as do. They maintain, that the elements in the Lord's supper are not changed into the body and blood of our Saviour; and that the sacraments of themselves cannot confer any grace. They mix almost no water with the sacramental wine. They deny marriage to be any sacrament. They maintain, that some sins are so great, that no priest can forgive them; and that there is no purgatory for the cleansing of such souls as die in their sin. They do not regard Christmas, or the other festivals and wakes of the church, nor the ember weeks. They eat flesh on Saturday, and the Lord's day, without distinction. They rebaptize such as come over to them from the Romish church.

Having mentioned these principal classes of Christians, who retain some shadow of the gospel-doctrine and worship, together with their freedom from the slavery of Rome, it may not be improper to mention such who retain the name, but have derived their religion from the Ebionites, Valentians, Manicheans, Basilidians, and other ancient heretics;

heretics; and who, equally abhorred of the Christians and the Mahometans, have almost dwindled to nothing. Of this kind are the *Sabians*, who pretend to be the disciples of John Baptist; but are more probably sprung from the Jewish Hemerobaptists. They dwell in Persia and Arabia, chiefly at Bassora. Their religion consists in frequent, at least annual and solemn washing of themselves, with a number of odd ceremonies, which their priests have annexed to these ablutions. The *Jesidians* or *Jezdeans*, who frequent the Gordian mountains, and the deserts of Curdistan or Assyria. They are a savage and wandering tribe. Their priests are apparelled in black, and the rest of them in white. They reckon the devil, Cherubin, or malignant principle, the great minister of the supreme Deity; and express great regard for him, if they do not actually adore him. No persecution will influence them to express abhorrence of him; and they put to death such as mark any aversion to, or contempt of him. The *Druses*, *Dursians*, or *Durusians*, inhabit the inhospitable wilds of mount Lebanon, and give out themselves to be the offspring of the sacred warriors, who, in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, fought for the Holy land. What their religious sentiments are, can hardly be known, as they study to conceal them. Nor can they be much worth the knowing, since themselves are little less savage than the wild beasts among which they dwell. Sisters and brethren, parents and children, it is said, mingle together in promiscuous lust. Probably they, as well as the Curds of Persia, formerly held the doctrines of the Gnostics or Manichees. Many other Asian sects we pass over, as we know little about them; and what we know, is unworthy of record.

Great has been the pontifical zeal to gain proselytes from the principal sects above mentioned. The oriental Christians are used with extreme tenderness,



ness, and are often permitted to retain all their own opinions and rites, if they will but acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman see. By their missionaries and favours, the Papists have actually made a number of proselytes. Not a few of the Greeks who live in the Turkish empire, or in the dominions of the Venetians, or of the German emperor, have adopted the faith, worship, and discipline of Rome; and are governed by their own clergy, who receive their confirmation and authority from thence. It is said, that in the isle of Chios alone, there are about thirty churches of the Latin communion. To promote their increase, a college was founded at Rome. In it a number of Grecian students, who have given early marks of genius and capacity, are instructed in the arts and sciences, and are prepossessed with the deepest veneration for the papal authority. This expensive device had not all the success that might have been expected. The most of the Grecian students, whenever they can obtain a settlement at home, renounce all regard to his Holiness. And after being loaded with favours, they, shocked with the view of the Roman profligacy, become the most zealous abhorrents of the Latin church.

John Basilides, the grand duke or emperor of Russia, about 1580, knowing that frequent deliberations had been held at Rome, how to unite his dominions to the holy see; and hoping for the papal assistance against the Poles, who had almost ruined him in war, pretended an earnest desire of union with Rome; and by an embassy begged of Gregory XIII. to resume the negotiations for that effect, and to bring the matter to a speedy and happy conclusion. Antony Possevin or Poussines, a learned and artful Jesuite, was dispatched to Muscovy. He, and his associates, did whatever they could in the service of their master; but nothing was effected. The Russian ambassadors soon after arrived

rived at Rome; but brought nothing with them besides empty promises, expressed in very dubious and general terms. Ever since the fourteenth century, a congregation of Russians at Kiow, governed by their own metropolitan, had continued subject to Rome. Possevin, and his helpers, persuaded the Red Russians of Poland to subject themselves in like manner. The association was agreed upon at Bresty, the capital of Cujavia, in 1596.

While the ferocity of the Georgians and Mengrelians rendered them deaf to all the admonitions of the Theatin and Capuchin monks, the Monophysites were almost quite intractable to all the missionaries of Rome. A few Nestorians near Diarbek, in this, or rather the preceding century, embraced the Romish religion, and had a succession of patriarchs called *Joseph*, to rule them. As early as the fourteenth century, some Armenians had submitted to Rome. In 1318, John XXII. sent them a Dominican monk, with the title and authority of archbishop. The see or seat of this spiritual ruler, was first fixed at Aderbigiana, but was afterwards transferred to Naxivan, where it still remains, and is filled by one of the Dominican order. The Maronites, who inhabit the mountains of Lebanon, date their subjection to his Holiness from the beginning of the sacred war. Their patriarch always assumes the name of Peter, and title of Patriarch of Antioch; but performs his priestly functions at Canobin, a convent of monks on mount Lebanon. These Maronites have their students freely taught and maintained at the oriental college of Rome.

But it is necessary to observe, that the reports of the Romish missionaries concerning their success among the Grecian, and other eastern Christians, are often equally destitute of candour and truth. It is certain, that in some places where they pretend to have settlements, their agents do but appear.

pear in the character of physicians, and take the opportunity to baptize the infants committed to their cure; that in other places, they only decoy a few indigent wretches by the force of presents, who return to their former religion, whenever the Romish bounty is withdrawn or suspended. Sometimes too, persons of rank involved in necessitous circumstances, or ambitious of what they cannot obtain, testify their respect to his Holiness; and perhaps travel to Rome, to mark their conversion complete. But when their end is gained, or their circumstances changed to the better, they abandon the papal yoke, or at most express their subjection in ambiguous terms. Even the Nestorian bishop of Diarbek is retained to the Roman faith, by the pope's uninterrupted liberality. The Maronites, who above all the eastern proselytes boast of attachment to Rome, retain their own opinions and forms of worship; and are kept faithful to the holy see at a very considerable expence. The Roman treasury must furnish them with subsidies, to content their voracious masters, the Ottoman lords; with subsistence for their clergy; with what expence is necessary to maintain their churches and worship; besides what comes to the relief of their poor, or is bestowed upon the education of their students. After all, numbers of the Maronites behold the church of Rome with abhorrence. Numbers of them, who, in the seventeenth century, resided in Italy, and under his Holiness's eye, opposed his authority, and threw the papal court into no small perplexity. One body of them retired to the valleys of Piedmont, and joined the Waldenses. Another, about six hundred in number, with a bishop, and several other ecclesiastics at their head, fled into Corsica, and implored the Genoese protection from the violence of the inquisition.



## S E C T. H.

*The history of the Papists.*

**I**N this century, particularly after their loss by the reformation in Europe, the Romish church exerted themselves to the utmost to propagate their religion and authority. The Portuguese and Spaniards pretend to have done mighty exploits, in the spread of the Christian faith, in Asia, Africa, and America. But we must not imagine, they put the oracles of God into the hands of their converts from Heathenism, or taught them the knowledge thereof. Some of the doctors of the mission were themselves ignorant of them. The Christianity of these subjects to Rome, consisted in their choosing to be sprinkled with water, practise a few ceremonies as childish as their own, and to worship a few images, and the like, rather than forego the offered presents, and endure the threatened tortures of death. It is certain, the zeal of the Spanish conquerors of America, was rather to murder, than to convert the natives. Hence, during the reign of Charles V. that is, from 1516 to 1558, they are said to have, without any just provocation, murdered about forty millions of these poor Heathens. It is also affirmed, that they sometimes sold the idols of one nation to another, as objects of worship.

For a time, the Dominicans, Franciscans, and other religious orders, were very zealous and active in the conversion of the Heathens: but the hardships they had to encounter in Africa, and elsewhere, abated their ardour. The Jesuites, being newly erected into a society, outdid them all; and had ready, on a moment's warning, a number of qualified persons, to send into any part of the world,

world, where his Holiness pleased. The labours, perils, and mighty exploits of the doctors of this order, in the conversion of African, Asian, and American infidels, abundantly mark the fidelity, alacrity, and zeal, wherewith they executed the orders of their ghostly commander. Neither hunger, nor thirst, nor nakedness, nor reproach, imprisonment, or death, could deter them from their labour. But, not regard for the honour of Jesus, or the advantage of souls, but a furious and enthusiastic zeal for the pontifical grandeur and reputation, and for advancing the temporal interests of their society, was their principal motive. This rendered them quite indelicate, with respect to the means they took to accomplish their end. Flattery, falsehood, vile misrepresentation of the gospel, and of Christ as a carnal Messiah; and where they had power, the terrors of the inquisition were applied to as means, instead of arguments from scripture, or the instructions of Christ. This flaming zeal of the Jesuites rekindled the remaining sparks that lodged in the breasts of the Mendicants, and even of the lazy orders which lay cloistered in their monasteries; that there was almost a general contention, who should do or suffer most, in spreading the Romish faith, and in extending the power of the vicar of Christ.

None of the Jesuitical doctors so distinguished themselves, as Francis Xavier, who is commonly called the *Indian Apostle*. About 1542, he sailed for the East Indies; and in a short time spread superficial hints of the Romish religion through the Portuguese settlements on the coast, and through most of the Indian continent, and of Ceylon, and several other islands adjacent. Multitudes were baptized, and taught to practise a few trifling ceremonies. In 1549, he sailed to Japan; and with amazing rapidity, laid the foundation of the church there, which flourished about sixty years, and con-

tinued thirty more under the Heathens persecuting rage. It is said to have once consisted of about six hundred thousand Christians. In 1552, he sailed for China, intending to convert that nation also to Rome; but died within sight of the land. After his death, Ricci, Roger, Pasio, and others of his insinuating tribe, penetrated into that jealous empire. Ricci their chief, who had learned the language at Macao, a settlement belonging to the Portuguese, by his uncommon address, and by his mathematical skill, so recommended himself to the mandarins, and even to Vanli the emperor, that he got liberty for himself, and his associates, to teach the people the truths of their gospel. Notwithstanding much persecution from the bonzas or Heathen priests, and from the mandarins or nobles, who took their part, these missionaries persevered, and founded a church in China, which continued about an hundred and seventy years. They had the more success, as they hired the poor with presents, and the sick with kindness and medicine, and required nothing more of their converts, than to be sprinkled with water, in what they called baptism, and add to their former idols the virgin Mary, the cross, and the like. About 1580, some Jesuites penetrated into Chili and Peru, in South America, and converted the natives. Thence they proceeded into the inland provinces of that continent; and father Alfonso, in less than ten years, baptized twenty-five thousand persons. It is true, that these Heathens, both in the east and west, hardly knew one word of the Latin instructions which the missionaries gave them; but the presents, and the sight of the images, and other trinkets, were their interpreters.

Other missionaries bestirred themselves to convert the Greeks, Nestorians, and Monophysites, to the Romish faith. Bermudas, and his brethren, laboured to proselyte the Abyssinians. As these

Ethiopians



Ethiopians needed the assistance of the Portuguese, this project at first seemed to succeed; but at last came to nothing. Missionaries were oftener than once dispatched to proselyte the Egyptian Copts. These produced nothing but an embassy from the Alexandrian patriarch: and even this is generally suspected to have been a farce, forged by the Papalins, in order to impose on, and decoy the Abyssinians, into a real submission. About 1593, Serapion, a Romish dupe, by engaging himself to pay the debts, under which the Armenians groaned, got himself chosen their patriarch, though they had two before. But Shah Abbas, the Persian monarch, instigated by the enemies of Rome, quickly banished him. By the most cruel and base methods, the Portuguese and Jesuites about Goa, forced a number of the Nestorians of St Thomas, into an unwilling submission to the pope. At the first, the missionaries spared no injustice or severity, to proselyte these eastern Christians to Rome; and insisted upon the most rigid uniformity, in every punctilio of faith or practice. But the papal court quickly perceived, that this was an improper method of extending their power; and altered their plan, insisting upon almost nothing, besides a professed subjection to the Roman see. Some of their learned doctors also, without regard to integrity or truth, pretended to demonstrate, that the tenets of the Roman church differed but little from these believed by the Greeks, Nestorians, and Jacobites.

About the beginning of this century, the papal interest seemed to be in no danger. Perhaps Portugal was the last that hindered the publication of the papal bulls, till they had got a parliamentary examination: they had given up their right about 1480. The French monarch, Francis I. and even Lewis XII. before his death, appeared more tame and ductile, than many of his predecessors. The

Waldenses, Beghards, and Bohemians, were almost totally suppressed. The clergy had a great, if not the principal share of influence in the various kingdoms of Christendom. The bishops and abbots, by virtue of their civil lordships, as well as their own ambition, acted as a third or second estate in the parliaments or grand councils of nations; and when they had the king on their side, by his assistance or their intrigue, to humble some of the powerful noblemen, they could often carry matters as they pleased. By reason of their civil property, they were often capable to cope with the sovereigns themselves, in raising armies, fighting battles, and the like. Their revenues, especially in the northern regions, where superstition had so taken hold of the ignorant barbarians, were astonishing. In Scotland, they had about the half of the revenues of the country. Nor was the matter much otherwise in England. In Sweden, their power seems to have been absolutely enormous, the dignified clergy being capable to oppress the people at pleasure. Visits to saints, altars, and holy places, being of no avail without some oblation; infinite sums were bestowed upon the shrines of the saints, Becket of Canterbury, the virgin Mary of Walsingham, and especially of Loretto in Italy. These at once drained the laity; and if need was, were at the clerical devotion. Agnus Dei's, crosses, sanctimonious beads, swords, bracelets, feathers, roses, shoes, boots, parings of nails, drops of milk or blood, hair, medals, ashes, dust, chips of holy wood, consecrated wax, and innumerable other hallowed knacks, were constantly imported, and sold to the devotees, and the clergy thereby enriched.

By the popes pretences to supreme power in heaven and earth, and in the purgatorial mansions of hell, they drew to themselves the wealth of the nations.

nations. In order to procure which, they suited their religion to the tempers and lusts of every one. The melancholy had cells and nunneries; the licentious had dispensations and indulgences; the credulous had miracles; the fantastical, visions; and the superstitious, ceremonies, ever at hand. The Peter-pence that was gathered in England alone, as early as *A. D.* 1000, amounted to seven thousand five hundred *per annum*. The popes had also the first-fruits or annates, *i. e.* the first year's revenue of every spiritual living, and every year the tenth part thereof. In some, if not every nation, the bishops paid about as much, and often more to his Holiness out of their revenues, than their lands did to the king. Presents and fees behoved also to be remitted to Rome, before any bishops could be fully fixed in their see. The popes also demanded contributions from both clergy and laity, under the name of *Legantine levies*. To ease the people of distant countries from visiting the high altar at Peter's church at Rome, in the Jubilee, pontifical legates were dispatched to allow them the same privileges, if they did but visit some place in their own country, and according to ability, paid a fixed rate, for the gracious exchange. Dukes, lords, and other dignified persons, paid three pounds seven shillings and eight pence; and such, whose substance was worth twenty pounds, paid but a shilling. Contributions for the Croisades, and holy war, were now at an end; but the pope had still other wars on his hand, for which his subjects behoved to contribute. Cardinal Woolsey of England collected twelve barrels full of gold and silver, and dispatched them to Rome. The pope also plagued the people with collections for the founding or repair of monasteries, or for the support of the monks. He drew also large sums for supporting the courts which he instituted at Rome, and in other places of his dominion. His frequent bestow-



al of the bishoprics in Britain, and other distant countries, upon his Italian dupes, who never went thither to reside, no doubt also procured him a share of the gain. The bishopric of Worcester had four Italian bishops in succession about the beginning of this century. The interference of kings in the election of the popes, often cost them immense sums expended in bribes. The papal canonizations also brought them in plenty of money. If poverty disqualified the clergy or laity from immediate payment of the papal demands, the Lombards or pope's merchants afforded them the ready money, upon such security as tended to enrich themselves. The offices of the church were sold to the highest bidder. Sacraments, salvation, and every thing sacred, were exposed to sale. And only the crime of poverty, was deemed sufficient to ruin here or hereafter a pontifical subject. The wickedness of the times was an inexhaustible source of wealth. The popes, and not a few others, had the licence-money of whores and brothel-houses, for a part of their revenue. The lower clergy were many of them obliged to pay a crown yearly as price of their liberty to retain a concubine, if they pleased. By the tax of the apostolic chamber, every body was encouraged to sin, who had money to atone for it. According to some, a priest had his pardon for keeping a concubine for about half a crown; and a layman had it for fourpence more. If a man lay with his mother or sister, the atonement was about twenty-one pence; perjury or rape cost about twenty-six pence; the murder of a layman cost about twenty-one pence; but that of a clergyman cost about thirty, thirty-four, or thirty-eight pence, according to the dignity of the slain. According to others, the atonements were more expensive; but even they allow, that a man might murder his father, mother, wife, brother, or sister, for about six shillings.

Having

Having got into their hands the great part of the wealth of Europe, the clergy, regardless of their charges, and not residing at many of them, abandoned themselves to ambition and luxury. What had been set apart to pious and charitable purposes, was squandered away to promote licentious or tyrannical courses. Numbers of them were so ignorant as to know nothing of the Bible; and affirmed the New Testament had been forged by Luther. They wallowed as swine in whorish, and other more unnatural pollutions. Scarce a female of an agreeable aspect was secured against their beastly defilement. Married and unmarried were equally common. Nor durst the poor creatures resist their will, without exposing themselves to curses, inquisitions, or other things terrible. Nay, perhaps many of them were so drowned in ignorance and superstition, as to believe the filthy proposals of their ghostly directors to be innocent, if not sanctimonious.

The popes were ringleaders in every abomination. Alexander VI. was the scandal of human nature in every thing lustful and villanous. Julius II. procured his election by the basest arts, and was characterised by gluttony, whoredom, profane cursing, and a savage ferocity, audacious arrogance, despotic vehemence, and extravagant passion for war. His whole pontificate was one continued scene of military tumult with the Venetians and French. Provoked with his treachery, Lewis XII. of France, though of a mild disposition, meditated revenge, and ordered medals to be struck, threatening destruction to Babylon. Meanwhile, Julius shifting to call a general council, some cardinals encouraged by Lewis, and by Maximilian the emperor, who intended to have a Pragmatical sanction in Germany, similar to that of the French, assembled a council at Pisa, in 1511, to set bounds to the pontifical fury, and to correct the errors and corruptions.

ruptions that prevailed. Though Julius contemned these threatening appearances, he took pains to render them ineffectual. In 1512, he assembled a council of twenty-one dignified clergy at the Lateran; which, in the most insulting manner, condemned the decrees of the Pisan fathers, and ordered all the supporters of the Pragmatic sanction to appear at their bar within sixty days. They had probably consigned them over to the devil, at the end thereof, had not Julius died. The Pisan fathers did nothing to the purpose, as Maximilian, and soon after Lewis, abandoned their interests, and embraced the authority of the Lateran council.

Leo X. was a man of learning, but spent the most of his time in his pleasures. Prodigality, luxury, imprudence, and impiety, if not Atheism, were the outlines of his character. But he was zealous for the advancement of the papal power. He persuaded king Francis I. of France, in 1516, to abolish the Pragmatic sanction, which had been so long odious at Rome, and to substitute the Concordate in its place. By this the pope allowed the king to nominate the bishops and abbots, which were formerly chosen by the chapters. Thus the king was invested with a spiritual power of choosing the dignified clergy, that the pope might obtain the annates, and some other temporal profits. The churches and monasteries, which held their power of election immediately of the pope, had their rights reserved to them: and the pope's expectancy graces and reserves were, in some cases, allowed to be abolished. After the Lateran council had ratified this Concordate, and enacted some regulations relative to the rights of the regular and secular clergy, in hearing confessions, and performing divine service, it was dissolved in 1517.

The monks swarmed every where, and were an intolerable burden and nuisance. Such of them as were invested with civil privileges, or property

of



of houses, lands, or the like, regardless of the laws of their order, plunged themselves into the depths of vice; while the Mendicants, chiefly these of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, rendered themselves odious to all wise men, by their ignorance, rustic impudence, ridiculous superstition, and cruel brutality. They had a barbarous aversion to the arts and sciences; detested such as studied them, or attacked the barbarism and superstition of the age. Nor did they stick at any thing which tended to the ruin of their opposers. The Dominicans having filled the most eminent stations of the church, and presiding every where in the inquisitorial tribunals, and having the care of souls, and function of confessors, in all the courts of Europe, had the principal power and influence.

Finding that the Franciscan doctrine of the sinless conception of Mary, was extremely popular, the Dominicans of Switzerland resolved to establish their contrary opinion, and so regain their credit by a pretended miracle. Bern was agreed upon, as the scene of operation; and Jetzer, a poor, simple, and superstitious, but austere novice, as the instrument. The two priors, the procurator, and a preacher of the monastery, undertook the management of the plot. One of the four conveyed himself secretly into Jetzer's cell, and about midnight appeared to him in a most horrible shape, surrounded with howling dogs, and seeming to blow fire from his nostrils, by means of a box full of combustibles, which he held near his mouth. Pretending to be a Dominican soul, damned to purgatory, for laying aside the monastic habit, he, with terrible shrieks and howling, begged that Jetzer would deliver him, by suffering the discipline of the whip for eight days from all the monks of the convent, and by lying on the ground at the chapel-door, during mass, in the form of one crucified. Next morning, Jetzer reported his vision; and

and the whipping work was begun. The agenting friars magnified the miracles, in their discourses and sermons; and multitudes crowded to the convent, to behold the honoured saint. Next night, the impostor, according to promise, appeared to Jetzer, along with other two dressed like devils, and told him some of the secrets of his life, which had been got from his confessor; and informed him, how dear the Dominicans were to the holy Virgin; and how she hated the Franciscans, for pretending she was equal to her divine Son, in point of sinless conception.

After the prior had appeared in the different forms of St. Barbara and Bernard, he at last assumed that of the blessed Virgin; and the little images that stood on the altar, were, by means of pullies, made to dance about her as angels. She assured Jetzer, that she had been born in original sin, though she continued not long under that blemish. After various visits she told him, she would give him a most sensible mark of her Son's love, by imprinting on him his five wounds, as had been formerly done to the saints, Lucia and Catherine. She then took his hand by force, and thrust a large nail through it. Next night, she brought him a bit of the linen in which Jesus had been buried, to soften the wound; and gave him a soporific draught, which the prior had composed with magical ceremony, and a solemn dedication of himself to the devil for procuring his assistance. Jetzer being thrown into a deep sleep, the monks bored his other hand, and both his feet, and his side, in such a manner that he felt no pain. Thus marked with our Saviour's wounds, he was exposed to the view of the almost adoring multitude, to the infinite mortification of the Franciscans. Such apparitions and stratagems were repeated every night, in different forms. At length, Jetzer perceived it was the prior, not the empress of heaven,

heaven, that had been his nocturnal visitant, and almost killed him on the spot. The Dominicans, to avoid discovery, revealed their plot to Jetzer, and engaged him to carry on the imposture. But suspecting his fidelity, they, by poison, and otherwise, attempted to murder him. Having discovered their design, he fled off, threw himself into the hand of the magistrates, and confessed the whole plot. The four managing friars were tried and burnt in 1509. Soon after which, it is said, Jetzer poisoned himself. This may serve as a sample of the pontifical miracles, by which they, by pulleys, or persons behind, made the sanctimonious images move, weep, or speak; made fire come down from heaven, and the like. Persons too were hired to counterfeit themselves sick, blind, or possessed of the devil, that the impostors might cure them before the ignorant multitude.

The Mendicant friars filling many of the principal places in the seminaries of learning, what was exhibited as the philosophy of Aristotle, was but a motley heap of obscure notions and distinctions, which the teachers themselves did not understand; and every thing useful was crushed under the furious disputes of the Realists and Nominals. Though the divines had liberty of disputing on the points not determined by the Roman see; and even Luther might have escaped, had he not pointed his eloquence against the overgrown fortunes and powers of the bishops, the majesty of the pope, and the towering ambition of the Dominicans; yet the knowledge of scripture-divinity was so rare, that the famed university of Paris could not produce a disputant to oppose the Saxon reformer, upon an inspired foundation. Few books of divinity then composed had any merit, besides their enormous bulk and cost.

The worship was almost wholly diverted from God, to saints, angels, reliques, and consecrated wafers.



wafers. To shew how much the most abandoned wretch, papally fainted, was preferred to the infinite Saviour, the altar of Becket at Canterbury received of presents in one year nine hundred and fifty-four pounds sterling; while that of Jesus received not a farthing, and that of the Virgin but four pounds one shilling and eight pence. An hundred thousand devotees in one year visited his shrine. Public worship was almost wholly an heap of insignificant and senseless ceremonies. The sermons contained almost nothing besides fictitious reports of miracles, insipid fables, wretched quibbles, and illiterate jargon, which deceived the people. The authority of the church; the obligation of unlimited obedience to her decisions; the virtues and merits of saints; the dignity, glory, and love of the blessed Virgin, for whom Bonaventure had long before composed a psalter, in which every thing ascribed to God or Christ, in the Psalms of David, is ascribed to her; the efficacy of reliques; the duty of adorning churches, or endowing monasteries; the absolute necessity of good works, that is, of liberality to the clergy, and zeal for Romish ceremonies, in order to salvation; the intolerable torments of purgatory, and the usefulness of indulgences, were the principal topics on which the preachers displayed their eloquence and warmth. They encouraged the people in ignorance, as the mother of devotion and of soundness in the faith; and in all manner of wickedness. Ignorance hindered them from finding fault; and wickedness occasioned no small gain, by their satisfactions to the clerical order. Scarce any sparks of real piety remained in the Roman church, except among the Mystics: and even they had associated with their practical rules many of the vulgar errors, which, together with their passion for contemplation, led them into a variety of notions approaching to fanaticism, or even to madness.

In

In fine, from the hundred grievances of the Germans, and other complaints of these times, we find that religion was every where oppressed with vain traditions; piety was stifled with Heathenish, Jewish, or magical ceremonies; and doctrines were tried not by the oracles of God, but by lying wonders, or diabolical miracles. The infallibility of the bishop or church of Rome; the pope's sovereign power over the church, and over temporal princes; the doctrine of transubstantiation; the unlawfulness of clerical marriages; the doctrine of seven sacraments, and of human merits; the distinction of sins into venial and mortal; the doctrine of auricular confession to priests; and of purgatory, and indulgences; the equality of unwritten traditions with the holy scripture; and of the pope's power to absolve from oaths of allegiance; were now taught and believed as fundamental truths of the gospel. The public worship was in an unknown tongue. God was represented and worshipped by images. The mass, or eucharist, was reckoned a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the quick and the dead. Oftentimes the ministering priest was the only communicant. The people were every where denied the use of the cup; and all were obliged to worship the consecrated elements.

No doubt, men of sense detested the clerical fiends and brutes; but it was extremely dangerous to make them one's enemies. Not a few sighed for a reformation; but what they desired was by far too little. They would have rested content, had the overgrown powers of the clergy been limited, their frauds prevented, and manners corrected. Erasmus, Baptista Mantuanus, and other learned men, observed the prevalent superstition and wickedness of the times, and in serious, or in derisive strains, laboured to expose it; but they had not courage to call in question the papal power, and the authority of the statutes supporting it, which had been

sanctified by the name of *canon law*. Nay, multitudes, shocked with the horrible wickedness that prevailed among all ranks, chiefly the clergy, cried sometimes for the reformation of the church in her head and members: but as they held sacred the supreme authority of the pontiff, and of general councils, the principal corrupters had all the power in their hands. The popes, therefore, looked on themselves beyond the reach of their enemies, and able to reward or gain mercenary friends, and crush their obstinate opposers.

While the Papalins imagined themselves secure against every effort, God reduced their power in a manner they did not expect, by means of Zuingle, a canon of Zurich, Luther, a monk of Saxony, and other preachers who gradually joined them. Not a few of the nobles and sovereigns, awakened from their slumber, convinced of the danger of their souls under the papal yoke, or offended with the dignities, power, and wealth of the clerical monsters, helped to pull them from their state. Under pretence of levying money to carry on a war with the Ottoman Turks, who had dared to threaten his dominions, Leo X. issued forth a sale of the most extravagant indulgences, remitting all sins, past, present, or to come, however enormous, to all that would and could purchase them. Tetzel, a Dominican monk, was appointed by Albert, a general farmer of them, to preach them up in Germany. He executed his task with the utmost insolence and fraud, and impiously dared to derogate from the all-sufficient merits of Christ. Luther, provoked herewith, opposed him in Saxony; while Zuingle declaimed against the indulgences, and other abominations, in Switzerland. After infinite contentions and commotions, the affair issued in an extensive revolt from the jurisdiction, idolatry, superstitions, and errors of the church of Rome,



Rome, in which a great part of Germany, Switzerland, Hungary, Poland, and France, together with the kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, Britain, and Ireland, and the states of Holland, were concerned, as shall be hereafter related.

Amidst these commotions, nothing was more generally cried for, as a means of healing the breaches, and reforming the church, than a general council. Dreading a limitation of their powers, the popes shifted it off as long as they could. After about twenty-eight years shifting, and sometimes contestation with the emperor of Germany, king of France, princes, or Protestants, about the place of its meeting, its caller, president, or constituent members, it met at Trent in 1545. To the grief and terror of the papal dupes, the French divines at last came up. After holding sixteen sessions at Trent, and Bologn whither they retired, under pretence of a plague breaking out at Trent, but in reality to be more under the papal eye, they having, after an interval of four years, returned to Trent, did dismiss in 1552, under pretence of danger from the arms of Maurice, elector of Saxony, but did not dissolve the council. After much further shifting, the fathers re-assembled at Trent in 1562, and held nine sessions more in that and the following year. But at this convocation were scarce any Germans, few Poles and Hungarians, and but forty French and Spaniards, while there were an hundred and fifty Italians. To secure their own interests, the pontiffs excluded all the Protestants from a seat in the council, under pretence they were heretical parties. They took care to have their Italian dupes superior in number to the members that came from other places, chiefly France, Germany, and Spain. Some Frenchmen troubling the council with proposals of reformation, were delivered over to the inquisition. In fine, the papal legates, directed by their ghostly master, so managed

naged matters, that every thing was, on the main, carried to his Holiness's mind, notwithstanding all that the Spanish, and other more sensible members, could do to oppose them. The pretended errors of the Protestants were condemned, and heavy curses annexed to such as should teach them. The contrary opinions were affirmed. Some points were determined in such an equivocal manner, as did but obscure them, and give occasion to new disputes. Contrary to his Holiness's inclination, decrees for rectifying the disorders of the church were carried, along with these of doctrine. But only a few wise and pious resolutions were got carried, which were never put into execution. And to render every thing safe, it was left to the pope to interpret every decree, in case its meaning was disputed.

More particularly, this council enacted, that ecclesiastical traditions are the standard of faith and manners, equally as the holy scripture; that the apocryphal additions of Esther and Daniel, and the books of Tobit, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Barnab, and two first books of the Maccabees, are canonical scripture; that the Vulgate Latin Bible should be sustained as the only authentic one, at least of the Latin translations; that the scriptures ought only to be interpreted, according as the church understands them, and agreeably to the unanimous explication of the fathers; that all mankind, except perhaps the virgin Mary, are conceived in original sin; that original sin is wholly purged away in baptism; that the concupiscence which remains in baptized persons is not sin; that men have a free will to both good and evil; that legal repentance is not sinful; that men are not justified by the imputation of Christ's righteousness, though it be the meritorious ground of their justification; that we are justified by works as well as faith; that justifying faith is not any certain assurance

rance that our sins are forgiven; that some who are not predestinated are justified; that men in this life, may perfectly keep all the commandments of God; that good works are meritorious, and are the means of enlarging and continuing our justification; that justified persons may totally and finally fall from their state of grace; that in justification, the guilt, not the temporal punishment of sin is forgiven; that the sacrament of penance is necessary to justify men, who sin after baptism; that there are seven sacraments, baptism, the eucharist, confirmation, marriage, ordination, penance, and extreme unction, divinely appointed in the New-Testament church; that some of them are necessary to salvation; that they actually confer grace; that baptism, confirmation, and ordination, imprint an indelible character; that the intention of doing what the church does in the administrator, is necessary to the reality of the sacrament; that the baptism of John had not the same virtue as that of Christ, nor the Jewish sacraments the same as the Christian; that baptism is necessary to salvation; that the bread and wine in the eucharist, are transubstantiated into Christ's body and blood; that they ought to be consecrated, by a low repetition of the words, *This is my body*; that Christ is to be adored therein; that the eucharistical elements may be reserved for after occasions; that all Christians come to the years of discretion, are obliged to communicate at Easter; that the laity ought only to partake of the bread; that priests may communicate alone; that the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice; that masses may be celebrated in honour of the saints; that priests have power to forgive sins; that penance and auricular confession are necessary to salvation; that human satisfactions for sin are necessary in order to forgiveness; that the church has a right to retain the use of the Latin service in the worship of God; that holy unction is necessary



in ordination; that the hierarchy of the church, instituted by God, consists of bishops, priests, and ministers; that bishops are superior to priests, and have sole power of conferring confirmation and ordination; that celibacy is preferable to the married state; that the cognizance of causes relative to marriage, belongs to ecclesiastical judges; that we ought to believe the existence of purgatory; that the souls therein confined are helped by the prayers of the church, and particularly by the sacrifice of the mass; that it is good and profitable to pray to departed saints, as they intercede for us with God; that we ought to venerate the reliques of martyrs and saints; and to have and adore the images of Christ and his saints, especially his mother; not as in themselves, but as what is done to the image relates to the original represented thereby.

The principal of their decrees for reformation, were the following: That the regular clergy or monks should be allowed theological lectures in cathedrals, and appointed to have them in monasteries; that bishops are obliged to preach; but, that the pope might relieve them from it, it was not asserted they were divinely obliged; that the curates shall teach their people on every Lord's day; that the monks shall not preach without license from their superiors, or the bishops; that bishops, under pain of losing their revenues, shall reside in their dioceses; that ecclesiastic superiors be careful to correct the enormities of these under them; and that bishops may correct such monks as live out of their convents; that the sacraments be administered freely; that baptism be administered only in the church; that there shall be but one godfather, not a monk, and of good repute; that persons excommunicated, or known to be in mortal sin, shall not be confirmed by the bishop; that none shall possess a plurality of benefices, having the cure of souls annexed, or a plurality of cathedral or metropolitan church-

es; that no persons be admitted to ecclesiastical charges, whose morals are not good, nor till they be examined by the ordinary; that, in ordinary cases, there be no appeals before a sentence be pronounced; that the causes of bishops, when their personal attendance on the decision is necessary, shall be carried before the pope; that no titular bishop can ordain without allowance from the ordinary; that delegates from the holy see, have always a power of correcting all their inferior clergy; that the right of patronage shall be yielded only to founders of churches or benefices; that the person presented by the patron, shall be instituted by the ordinary; that mass shall not be celebrated but in churches and chapels consecrated for divine service; that such masses as had sprung from superstition be abolished; that none be admitted to the holy tonsure, but such as had received confirmation, and can read and write; that the banns or edict of persons intending holy orders, shall be published in churches; that none be entitled to hold ecclesiastical benefices before they be fourteen years of age; that sacred orders be publicly conferred at the times appointed by law; that neither bishops nor abbots ordain any, but such as are subject to themselves; that all bishops erect schools and colleges in their diocese, and train up the young clerks in piety; that no marriages be allowed without proclamation of banns for three several Sabbaths; that no marriage celebrated without the presence of the curate shall be reckoned valid; that none marry, who are not duly removed in affinity, natural and spiritual; that no marriage with a ravisher be held valid, as long as the ravished is under his power; that every metropolitan hold a provincial council once in three years, and after Easter; that the bishops shall visit at least a part of their diocese once every year; that bishops and curates.

curates shall preach in their churches, and the people attend divine service in their respective parishes; that there be public penance for public sins; that benefices too small may be joined with some other; that all duelling be laid aside; that the fasts prescribed by the church be observed; that a catalogue of prohibited books be made, and a church-catechism. These, and other more trifling decrees, were read in the last session; after which they were signed by two hundred and forty five prelates. The Spanish members thought to have got it enacted, that bishops have their power immediately from Christ; and that their preaching and residence is of divine right; but the pope and his legates, in spite of all they could do, got that point left undetermined.

We have been the more particular in relating the deeds of this council, as they have, for two hundred years past, been considered as the standard of religion, by a great part of the papal church. The Papists in Germany, Poland, and Italy, implicitly received the decrees, without any restriction. After many years dispute, concerning the authority of this council, the Spaniards received the decrees thereof, in so far as consistent with the rights and prerogatives of their king. In France and Hungary, its authority has never been solemnly acknowledged: but the French have imperceptibly submitted to its doctrinal decisions, as the rule of their faith; while such as relate to discipline and government, have been rejected, as inconsistent with the liberties of the Gallican church. After all, considering the ambiguity of some decrees, the frequent imposition of what is left undecided, and the practising of what is directly contrary to the decrees of the better sort; it is plain, we must not consider the acts of this council, as a genuine and full representation of the faith and worship of the Roman church. Upon review thereof, however,

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the Protestants were more and more convinced, that their separation from Rome, was a step necessary for promoting their own salvation, and the glory of Christ. Not a few of the Papists who had seen, or truly heard of the furious contentions, wanton scoffing, and villanous intrigue, that took place in the council, were highly offended.

While the council sat, the popes were in perpetual terror of an abridgment of their authority. But it was scarce ended, when Pius IV. formed out of its decisions twelve new articles, to be added to the creed ascribed to the apostles, and which might serve as a covenant bond of union, and badge of distinction to all the votaries of Rome. In these articles, one must solemnly declare, that he embraces the ecclesiastical traditions, as a part of the rule of his faith; that he receives the scriptures only in the sense of the church, and according to the unanimous interpretation of the fathers; that he believes the seven sacraments were instituted by Christ, and are necessary for the salvation of mankind, though not all of them to every man, and that they confer grace; and that he approves the accustomed rites of the church, in the administration of these sacraments; that he embraces every thing which the council of Trent has decided, concerning original sin and justification; that he believes the bread and wine in the Lord's supper are truly transubstantiated into his body and blood; and that in this sacrament there is a real propitiatory sacrifice made for the sins of the quick and of the dead; and that under one kind only Christ is to be received by the laity; that he believes there is a purgatory and a prison, where the souls of the Old-Testament saints were shut up till the death of Christ; and that Christ locally descended into hell, and delivered these imprisoned souls, after his death; and that saints departed are to be worshipped

ped and prayed to, as they intercede for us; and that their reliques are to be had in veneration; that the images of Christ, and his mother, and other saints, ought to be retained, and duly venerated; that Christ left the power of indulgences in the church; and that the use of them is very beneficial to Christian people; and that he believes the Roman church to be the mistress of all churches; and promises and swears a true obedience to the bishop of Rome as the vicar of Christ; and that he undoubtedly receives and professes all other things that have been defined by the council of Trent, and other general councils, or by the sacred canons, and rejects and anathematizes all errors and heresies, rejected and anathematized thereby.

To establish the staggering state of the popedom, care was also taken to regulate the Roman court. The college of cardinals which elect the pope, were fixed at seventy-six; of whom six are bishops within the precincts of Rome, fifty, priests of the Roman churches, and the other fourteen, deacons, who inspect the hospitals or charity-houses. When a pontiff dies, these cardinals are shut up in a sort of prison, called the *Conclave*, till the election be finished. None but such cardinals as have had their birth in Italy can stand candidates for the pontificate; and of these, not any who are made cardinals by the nomination of the kings of France or Spain. These monarchs, however, by stipulation or influence, can almost constantly exclude from the number of candidates whomsoever they think fit to oppose. If a cardinal, has been born a prince, or independent sovereign, or is sprung of too numerous a family, or appears capable of begetting too many bastards, he also is often excluded from the list of candidates for the papal chair; as it is supposed, he would squander away the ecclesiastical treasures upon his relations.

Hence

Hence only a few of the cardinals can now hope for the popedom.

Nor, since the reformation, has the papal power been so unlimited as formerly. The college of cardinals must be consulted as his privy council. A number of congregations or courts, are formed for the regulation of important matters belonging to the See. Of these, fifteen are intrusted with the spiritual affairs of the church, *viz.* the *consistorial*, which regulates affairs relative to the erection and suppression of bishoprics, cathedrals, and to sacred revenues; the *holy office*, which treats of things belonging to the inquisition; the *congregation for propagation of the catholic faith*, which handles what relates to the extirpation of heresy, and the appointment of missionaries for converting the Heathen. They have a magnificent palace, in which proselytes from foreign countries are maintained and instructed, and such clergy as have, by unjust persecution, been obliged to leave their country. The *congregation for explaining the decrees of Trent*; the *congregation of the index*, who examine books designed for publication, or which are published, and discharge such as are generally improper, and affix notes of correction, or expunction, to improper passages in books generally useful; the *congregation for maintaining the rights of the clergy, and the knights of Malta*; the *four congregations*, which manage the affairs pertaining to *excommunications*, and the *order of bishops*, and the debates between them and their clergy; the *congregation for suppressing of monasteries*, the revenues of which are exhausted; the *congregation for ordering the visitations of churches and convents*; the *congregation for examining of reliques*; that for *examining the case of such as have recourse to indulgences*; and in fine, that for *regulating and inventing rites* proper to be observed in the worship of such saints as are newly added



added to the calendar. Six other congregations are appointed for managing of the temporal affairs of the papal territories. Nor can the pontiff, without alledging some weighty reason, reverse the decrees of these congregations. Hence some things are carried on at the Roman court which are not a little disagreeable to the pretended vicar of Christ.

When his Holiness had lost so great a number of his subjects; when such as continued their subjection diminished their regard to his mandates, and either by more private measures, or by public negotiations and remonstrances, set bounds to his daring ambition, it was easy to see, that state-plots, crusades, anathemas, and interdicts, were become almost useless; and that the persecutions and wars which he and his agents raised against the withdrawers in Germany, Switzerland, Britain, France, and Netherlands, where they were numerous, could not accomplish their ruin. After a variety of unsuccessful trials, the popes found it so to their cost. Their horrid reproaches, pretended visions, lying or devilish miracles, being so often detected, lost much of their credit. Flattery, bribes, and disputes, were therefore, at last, more used than fire and sword.

Innumerable other methods, of the softer kind, were tried for retaining the staggering, or recovering the obstinate heretics. The popes behaved with more decency and moderation; and no doubt, the appearance of morals was more regarded in the elections to the holy see. Nor were their anathemas and interdicts, as formerly, launched on every trifling occasion. The monks, and other clergy, were obliged to correct their grosser abominations, or endanger their whole power and credit. But one would be still widely mistaken, to imagine, that either the pope, or his clergy, endeavoured to walk worthy of the gospel of Christ. The laws of the  
inquisition

inquisition were revised and corrected, in the countries where it was permitted to continue, except where its terrors had retained the inhabitants in their former ignorance and slavery. While every blemish in the Protestants conduct, or even the frowns of Providence against them, were improved as a decisive evidence, that their separation from Rome was intolerably wicked and damnable; such as returned to Popery were loaded with commendations, or with more important rewards, that they might be the more useful in reducing their brethren. Nor was any relapser to Popery obliged to make any public confession of his heretical wandering. While the council of Trent varnished over multitudes of the Romish abominations, some of the more gross were actually forborne, unless in Portugal, and such other places as were duly removed from Protestant infection.

The irresistible inroads of human learning contributed, in the hand of Providence, to promote the downfall of Popery. By the advancing knowledge of history, particularly that of the church, it was plainly manifested, that many of the customs which had long been held sacred, were but founded on fancy; and that many of the disputes which had plagued the church were but trifling or verbal; or had been occasioned by clerical pride and ambition. Many institutions, long supposed to be of a divine original, were found to have been borrowed from superstitious or barbarous Heathens, or dictated by some deluded enthusiast, or invented by some villanous impostor. The long revered decrees of popes and councils were, many of them, found to be an odious mixture of ignorance and knavery. By means of the growing study of the Greek and Hebrew, many obscure passages of scripture came to be explained, and such as had been long wrested by impostors, were rescued from abuse. The art of printing being

now pretty well known, the reformers spread religious books, especially the oracles of God, among the nations, where-ever they had access. In the former part of the preceding century, it would have required four or five hundred crowns to have procured a copy of the Bible. In the middle, and especially towards the end of this, one might have been got for a few crowns, or even shillings, in some places.

The defenders of Popery were obliged, not only by the inclination of some, but for the support of their cause, to fall in with the study of literature. They, however, applied it the best way they could, to promote their own interests. Schools and colleges were erected for training up doctors to dispute the cause with the stubborn heretics. The study of literature was recommended to the clergy in general, as their ignorance had made them the derision of the Protestants. The youth were more carefully instructed in the principles of their religion, that they might the better withstand the heretical insinuations. Such literati as laboured in the study of antiquity, languages, eloquence, and poetry, or in publishing correct editions of the ancient authors, Greek or Latin, were especially esteemed. But theological talents were also in repute. Imagining they had the fathers, or primitive doctors of the Christian church on their respective sides, both Papists and Protestants eagerly sought for and published their works. Great care was taken to prevent the spread of dangerous books. Publishers, printers, sellers, and buyers, were exposed to burning, or other terrible punishments. Dangerous passages even in the works of the fathers, or other esteemed writers, were cancelled, or marked with the expurgatorial index.

The Bible was, of all others, judged by many the most dangerous production, and the most remarkable source of heresy and eternal ruin. How

to



to prevent its mischief, they could hardly devise. The council of Trent pretended to allow some of the laity a licence to peruse their Bible; but at the same time insinuated, that their obtaining it might cost them the ruin of their soul. The Protestants published translations thereof into the language of almost every nation in Europe, German, Danish, Swedish, Polish, Italian, French, Spanish, or English. These, to the terror and grief of his Holiness, and his faithful adherents, were greedily bought up, and read by persons of all ranks, in spite of all that could be done by reproaches, or by fines, tortures, or flames, to restrain them. To discredit these versions, some composed others in the vulgar languages of Germany, England, &c. but in an obscure manner, and framed for the support of the papal cause. Perhaps it was chiefly to mark the distinguished learning of their party, that cardinal Ximenes published his Polyglott, or collection of ancient Bibles; and that the king of Spain afterwards published another more excellent, under the direction of Arcas Montanus, and others. But Providence made both extremely useful to promote the knowledge of the oracles of God in their original language. That they might not be behind the Protestant doctors, others published expositions of the scripture. But as all these works, with the versions of Pagnin and others, were in Latin, the people were in the less danger of profiting by them. Nor, except the literal explanations of Erasmus, who was an half Protestant, and of Cajetan, Titleman, Isidore, Maldonat, Justinian, Gaigney, d'Espense, and some others, which quickly fell into contempt among their own party, were their commentaries any thing else than wretched compilations from the fathers, and almost one constant torture of the oracles of God, to force them into the support of the Romish idolatry, superstition, and error.

now pretty well known, the reformers spread religious books, especially the oracles of God, among the nations, where-ever they had access. In the former part of the preceding century, it would have required four or five hundred crowns to have procured a copy of the Bible. In the middle, and especially towards the end of this, one might have been got for a few crowns, or even shillings, in some places.

The defenders of Popery were obliged, not only by the inclination of some, but for the support of their cause, to fall in with the study of literature. They, however, applied it the best way they could, to promote their own interests. Schools and colleges were erected for training up doctors to dispute the cause with the stubborn heretics. The study of literature was recommended to the clergy in general, as their ignorance had made them the derision of the Protestants. The youth were more carefully instructed in the principles of their religion, that they might the better withstand the heretical insinuations. Such literati as laboured in the study of antiquity, languages, eloquence, and poetry, or in publishing correct editions of the ancient authors, Greek or Latin, were especially esteemed. But theological talents were also in repute. Imagining they had the fathers, or primitive doctors of the Christian church on their respective sides, both Papists and Protestants eagerly sought for and published their works. Great care was taken to prevent the spread of dangerous books. Publishers, printers, sellers, and buyers, were exposed to burning, or other terrible punishments. Dangerous passages even in the works of the fathers, or other esteemed writers, were cancelled, or marked with the expurgatorial index.

The Bible was, of all others, judged by many the most dangerous production, and the most remarkable source of heresy and eternal ruin. How

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to prevent its mischief, they could hardly devise. The council of Trent pretended to allow some of the laity a licence to peruse their Bible; but at the same time insinuated, that their obtaining it might cost them the ruin of their soul. The Protestants published translations thereof into the language of almost every nation in Europe, German, Danish, Swedish, Polish, Italian, French, Spanish, or English. These, to the terror and grief of his Holiness, and his faithful adherents, were greedily bought up, and read by persons of all ranks, in spite of all that could be done by reproaches, or by fines, tortures, or flames, to restrain them. To discredit these versions, some composed others in the vulgar languages of Germany, England, &c. but in an obscure manner, and framed for the support of the papal cause. Perhaps it was chiefly to mark the distinguished learning of their party, that cardinal Ximenes published his Polyglott, or collection of ancient Bibles; and that the king of Spain afterwards published another more excellent, under the direction of Arcas Montanus, and others. But Providence made both extremely useful to promote the knowledge of the oracles of God in their original language. That they might not be behind the Protestant doctors, others published expositions of the scripture. But as all these works, with the versions of Pagnin and others, were in Latin, the people were in the less danger of profiting by them. Nor, except the literal explications of Erasmus, who was an half Protestant, and of Cajetan, Titleman, Isidore, Maldonat, Justinian, Gaigney, d'Espense, and some others, which quickly fell into contempt among their own party, were their commentaries any thing else than wretched compilations from the fathers, and almost one constant torture of the oracles of God, to force them into the support of the Romish idolatry, superstition, and error.



To discredit the Hebrew and Greek originals, from which the principal versions of the Protestants were formed, they were represented as dreadfully corrupted; and the Vulgate Latin version, remarkable enough for inexactness and obscurity, and for favouring of Romish abominations, especially as the Apocrypha was accounted a part of it, was declared to be the pure and genuine standard of sacred writ by the council of Trent. Pope Sixtus V. however, afterwards corrected several thousands of mistakes in this infallible standard; and, to the no small offence of his subjects, published an Italian version thereof. Clemens VIII. one of his infallible successors, added some thousands of further corrections, not a few of which were to the worse. The scriptures, in whatever language, were by many represented as a mere nose of wax, that can be turned whatever way one pleases, and which has no authority to men but from the church; nor any certain signification, but as the church is pleased to assign. Papal decrees, and ecclesiastical traditions, were represented of an authority superior to the express texts of the scripture; and, in fine, it was inculcated, that it was infinitely dangerous, and, except under the protection of a licence from some ghostly superior, unspeakably criminal for the laity to read them.

Flaccius Illyricus, the Lutheran doctor, having in his *Catalogue of Witnesses for Truth*, and especially in the *Centuries of Magdeburg*, compiled by him and his brethren, with infinite labour, and no small exactness and order, exhibited the history of the first fourteen ages of the Christian church, and shown, from authentic vouchers, almost innumerable, the gradual birth of the Romish abominations, and their contrariety to the doctrines and customs of the apostolic and primitive church; cardinal Baronius spent thirty years in composing his  
Annals

Annals of twelve volumes folio, and extending to A. D. 1298, to refute them, and support the credit of popish miracles, superstition, and idolatry; and especially to establish the pontifical supremacy. Raynald, in eight or ten, and Bzovius in nine volumes more, continued it to about the middle of the sixteenth century. But notwithstanding all his parade of annallic exactness, Baronius's work was quickly found, even by these of his own communion, to contain many thousands of mistakes.

To protect the Romish church against the growing influence of the Protestant heretics, new associations and orders were formed in Germany, and other places. The strict Franciscans produced two new branches of their order, which pretended to the utmost exactness and devotion. Matthew of Bassi founded the order of the Capuchins; so called from the pointed cowls which they added to their former habit. They received the papal approbation in 1525, and vowed the most perfect contempt of every thing temporal, the most profound humility, and the most austere and fullen gravity in their external aspect. Their reputation and success quickly drew upon them the envy of their monkish brethren. Other Franciscans formed themselves into a society, called the *Recollects*, in France; the *Reformed Franciscans*, in Italy; and the *Barefooted Franciscans*, in Spain. As they pretended to uncommon zeal, and to an exact compliance with the rules of their founder, they were called the *Friars Minors of the strict observance*. This community was founded in 1532, and papally approved. About 1570, Theresa, a Spanish lady, and John of Sancta Crusa, undertook the reformation of the degenerated Carmelites; and notwithstanding of great opposition, in part effected it. For about ten years, the austere and barefooted Carmelites continued in the monasteries, along with their unreformed companions; but this occa-

fioning almost perpetual contention, they, about 1580, were formed into a society by themselves, and approved by Gregory XIII. In 1593, Clement VIII. assigned them a general of their own. Not long after, their contentions obliged him to divide them into two societies, each having their respective chiefs.

In *A. D.* 1524, the *Regular Clerks*, called *Theatins*, from Theate, a city of Naples, had their society founded by Peter Caraffa, the bishop, afterwards pope, by the name of Paul IV. assisted by cardinal Cajetan. They obliged themselves, by their vow, neither to beg, nor to have possessions or revenues, but to live upon the occasional donations of persons pious and generous. They pretended to labour in reviving a spirit of devotion, in reforming the eloquence of the pulpit, in assisting people with spiritual instructions, and in a zealous combating of heretics of every form. The *Regular Clerks*, called *Barnabites*, from their being complimented with the church of St Barnabas in Milan, were founded about 1545, by Antonio Mavia of Cremona, and two noblemen of Milan. They at first engaged to live in the Theatin manner; but quickly wearying of such precarious funds of subsistence, they secured to their society certain possessions and incomes. They, in an apostolic manner, travelled about, labouring to convert sinners, or reduce transgressors to the paths of piety and virtue. The *Regular Clerks of St Maieul*, who were confirmed by the pope in 1540, and 1563, and the *Fathers of the Christian doctrine*, who were confirmed in 1599, pretended to employ themselves in teaching the young and ignorant in the principles and rites of the Romish religion, and in procuring assistance for orphans. To these we may add the *Priests of the Oratory*, of whom Baronius, Raynaldus, and Laderchius, were the most illustrious doctors of this



this age. The *Ursuline Nuns* too, perhaps deserve our simple remembrance.

The Dominicans and Franciscans, however numerous, having lost much of their credit and influence, could not so successfully serve his Holiness, as they had formerly done: nor were many of them, especially the latter, sufficiently devoted to his interest, to be intrusted with critical work. The order of the Jesuites seasonably started up, and all alone supported the tottering interests of Rome, more than all their monkish brethren beside. Their founder was Ignatius Loyola, who of an illiterate soldier became a most enterprising fanatic. Having, in his illness of a year's continuance, employed himself in reading the fabulous lives of the saints, he was no sooner recovered, than he set off to visit the sacred spots of Canaan. Returning to Spain, he studied the sciences at Salamanca; and commenced a public exhorter to repentance and piety. The lords of the inquisition prosecuted him; but his zeal for the Romish faith brought him off with safety. Retiring to Paris, he studied at their university ten years more; and while he supported himself by begging, he went about exhorting the people to repentance. In 1535, he, with Xavier, Faber, Gaius, Lainez, Coduri, Salmeron, Roderic, Bovadilla, and two others, set out for Rome. After suffering unspeakable contempt, and affronts unnumbered from the Italian clergy, they got themselves papally confirmed in 1540, as a new order, the number of which was at first confined to sixty. Having nothing to support them in their vast projects, they pretended, they were ready, *nakedly to follow a naked Christ through the whole world; and that they took God himself for their sole possession.*

It is probable Loyola, in forming his society, was directed by wiser heads than himself. That they might have the more leisure for the education  
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of youth, for directing the consciences of the faithful, for edifying the church by their writings, and for transacting their other business relative to the advancement of the papal hierarchy, they were exempted from obligation to any stated hours of devotion, by which so much of the time of the other monks is consumed. They are divided into three classes; the *professed members*, who to the common monkish vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience to their general, add a solemn obligation, to go without delay or deliberation, whithersoever his Holiness shall think fit to send them. A certain number of these must be always in readiness for missions, to propagate the Romish faith among Heathens or heretics. The professed brethren of this society are comparatively but few; but they are men of great prudence and learning, deeply skilled and dextrous in the management of affairs, whether political or ecclesiastical. They live on the charity of the devout: and it is only to such of them, as long experience has manifested to be worthy of such credit, that the secrets of the society are revealed. The other two classes are the *Scholars*, who instruct the youth in their colleges; and the *Novices*, who live in houses of probation. These classes enjoy revenues, and are obliged, when it is necessary, to minister to the support of the professed members, to whom they are rather companions than brethren.

The Jesuites quickly became famous in the learned world. Having, in almost every popish country, got the education of the youth into their hands, they, to promote the honour and wealth of their society, laboured to decoy into it such as were possessed of a remarkable genius, or were heirs to ample estates. That by quibbling distinctions, delusive sophisms, and unintelligible jargon, they might confound their heretical opposers, they supported the Peripatetic or Aristotelian philosophy,

phy, and the scholastic form of theology, with all their might. They stuck at nothing to support the pontifical interest. Regardless of expence, hardship, danger, or death, they, with amazing rapidity, spread themselves through a great part of the habitable world; converted multitudes of Heathens to the papal faith; confirmed multitudes of such as staggered thereat in Europe; reduced not a few of the Separatists; restrained the progress of rising sects; and almost all alone encountered, with surprising subtlety and eloquence, the heretics of every denomination.

By their soft and complaisant conversation, their skill in arts and sciences, and in business of every form, but chiefly by their artful accommodation of their moral system, to the various lusts and inclinations of mankind, they insinuated themselves into the distinguished favour and intimacy of emperors, kings, princes, and other great men; and thus supplanted the Dominicans, and other rigid doctors, who had long held the tribunal of confessors, and directed their conscience. Their superior influence, their possessing themselves of a considerable part of the wealth of the Benedictines, and other things of a similar nature, drew upon them the flaming envy of their monkish brethren. An infinity of tracts were published, to prove their institutions most detrimental to the interests of mankind, civil or religious. George Brown, the pious bishop of Dublin, about 1550, published a prediction, that a time should come, when their principal supporters should concur to pull them down, and when they should be more generally detested and miserable, than even the Jews. — In France, Poland, and some other places, they were declared enemies of their country, traitors, and parricides, and were banished with ignominy. By cunning and artifice they allayed the storm; and by gentle methods, not only restored their own credit and authority,



authority, but even put themselves into a state of defence, against the future attacks of their opposers.

The prevailing influence of this order lessened the small remains of morality and virtue; but they applied themselves with uncommon zeal to the theological warfare. In their disputes with the Protestant heretics, they surpassed all their fellows, in subtlety, impudence, and invective. About the end of the century, cardinal Bellarmine, in several folios, handled all the important controversies with the Protestant doctors. His comparatively faithful stating of the arguments of his antagonists, drew upon him the displeasure of the Roman court, as it tended to open the eyes of his readers. It seems his works, as if dangerous, were suppressed in Italy as much as possible. The Protestants, however, considered him as their principal enemy; and whole legions of them fell upon him with their refutations. Perhaps no disputations on the Protestant side of these times, were preferable to Chemnitz's *Examination of the council of Trent*, Chamier's *Panstratia*, and Amesius's *Bellarminus enervatus*.

Meanwhile, the bowels of the Roman church had like to have been torn asunder with intestine contentions. The two orders of Dominic and Francis still disputed concerning divers points of doctrine and discipline. The Scotists and Thomists persevered in their lasting and furious disputes. The bishops never gave up striving with the pope, and his congregations, concerning the origin and extent of his power and jurisdiction. While others, convinced of the absurdity of various abuses, contended for laying them aside, that they might not retain a blemish on the catholic church, and a stumbling-block to the heretics. The Jesuites warmly insisted for the retaining of every thing that was in use before the separation of Luther, that there might be no occasion given to believe,

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the church had found herself in an error. Nay, in spite of all the infallible and omnipotent vicar of Christ and centre of union could do, for healing of these angry rents, they continued, and new ones broke forth.

One of the principal debates *relating to the papal power and jurisdiction*, interest, as well as solemn engagements, obliged the Jesuites to fly to the defence of their protector and liberal head. They maintained his infallibility in his decisions, and his being the only visible centre and source of that universal and unlimited power, which Christ hath bestowed on his church. They insisted, that all bishops, and subordinate clergy, derive their whole power and authority from him; that he is under no obligation to regard the laws of the church or decisions of councils; but is himself her supreme lawgiver on earth, whose dictates it is highly criminal to oppose or disobey. On the other hand, the Franciscans, and their companions, contended, that the pope is fallible and liable to error; that he is not properly a lawgiver, but the guardian and great executor of the laws prescribed by Christ; that bishops, and other clergy, derive their authority immediately from Christ; that the sum of their authority is collected in a general council, the decisions of which, the pope is therefore bound to obey; that a general council may depose his Holiness, if, in a flagrant manner, he abuse his authority. In correspondence with these sentiments, the French and Flemings sometimes resist the papal mandates; nor dares he now venture to proceed to extremities against them.

A second dispute related to the *extent and prerogatives of the church*. The Jesuites pretended, that all men who profess the doctrines of the church, are truly her members, however vitious their practice be; that Heathens, who have no knowledge of Christ, and heretics, may be saved; that

that the church can never pronounce an erroneous sentence, either in matters of doctrine or fact. Their opposers excluded from the hopes of salvation, all such as live without the papal church, and all such as being within, dishonour their profession by a profligate life; and maintained, that the church is not infallible in her decisions relative to matters of fact.

A third dispute related to the *nature and necessity of divine grace*. The Augustinian and Dominican monks, who were afterwards followed by the Jansenists, maintained, that the impulse of God's special and saving grace cannot be effectually resisted and overpowered; that unregenerate persons have no remains of moral purity, or any ability to perform what is spiritually good; that God's eternal decrees, relative to the salvation of men, depend only upon his sovereign will, and not upon any foreseen condition in the persons predestinated; and that God hath purposed to save no more than a part of mankind. The Jesuites, on the other hand, insisted, that the human nature, at its worst, is possessed of power to do what is spiritually good; that the succours of divine grace are ministered to all mankind, in a manner sufficient to conduct them to eternal life; that the saving operations of God's grace offering no violence to the human powers, they may be effectually resisted, and their success finally prevented; that God hath, from all eternity, appointed everlasting rewards and punishments for men, not by any absolute and unconditional decree flowing from his own will, but in virtue of his foresight of the dispositions and behaviour of each.

A fourth debate related to *morality and practice*. The Jesuites represented it, as a matter of indifference, whether love to God, or fears of hell, be the motive of our compliance with the divine law; and insisted, that no man properly sins, except when

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he transgresseth a divine law, while its meaning is fully known to him, and obvious to his mind in the moment of his transgression. Their opposers contended, that no act can be acceptable to God, unless it proceed from love to him; and that every transgression of the divine law is sin, whether the law be known or obvious to the mind in the moment of transgression, or not.

A fifth debate respected the *sacraments*, particularly penance and the eucharist. The Jesuites, and their partisans, contended, that the sacraments produce their salutary effects by an intrinsic virtue and immediate operation, in the moment they are administered, without any regard to the state or frame of the receiver; that therefore, there is no need to examine mens knowledge, temper, or conduct, in order to give them absolution, or the use of any other sacrament; and that the frequent reception of the Lord's supper, in whatever manner, is a most effectual means of appeasing an offended Deity, and of obtaining the remission of our sin. Their antagonists insisted, that the sacraments are only profitable to such as receive them with hearts prepared by true faith, repentance, and the love of God.

Another controversy related to *the religious instruction of Christians*. While some doctors insisted, that the youth ought early to be instructed in the doctrines and precepts of Christ, and that as nothing is so profitable and instructive as his own word, it ought to be translated into the vulgar languages; the Jesuites, and their partisans, pretended it was sufficient, if the laity were instructed to give a blind and unlimited obedience to the commands of the church; and that it was highly dangerous, and extremely pernicious, to allow them to read the scriptures, or to grant them translations thereof in their mother-tongue. Some of the above

disputes, though secretly carried on, did not become very public till the next century.

Michael Baius, a doctor of the university of Louvain, famed for his piety and learning, and an hearty hater of the scholastic method of teaching divinity, boldly adhering to the doctrine of Augustine, maintained, that unregenerate men have no ability to perform what is spiritually good; and that no man's best works are meritorious of eternal life. This drew upon him the fury of several Franciscans; but whether the Jesuites joined in the first attacks upon him, we do not certainly know. In 1567, he was accused before the court of Rome, and seventy-six propositions extracted from his writings, were condemned in a circular letter of Pius V. But lest Baius should have revolted, in the manner of Luther, his person and office were spared. Instigated by Tolet the Jesuite doctor, Gregory XIII. confirmed the sentence, and a-new condemned the propositions. Dreading further severity, or rather because his condemnation was vague and ambiguous, Baius submitted; but others exclaimed against the papal decisions, as manifestly unjust. Baius's doctrine was propagated with no inconsiderable zeal, in the flourishing universities of Douay and Louvain. When the Jesuites Lessius and Hamelius dared to preach up a scheme of predestination, different from that of Augustine, the doctors of these universities condemned their opinions in 1587 and 1588. The bishops of the Low-Countries prepared to do the same. But pope Sixtus V. suspended their procedure; and, by imposing silence on both parties, hushed the controversy.

About the same time, Lewis Molina, a Spanish Jesuite, and doctor of the university of Eboræ in Portugal, published an attempt to remove the difficulties relative to divine predestination and human liberty, and to reconcile the operations of God's  
grace

grace with man's free will, and unite the jarring sentiments of Semipelagians, Augustinians, and Thomists. He pretended, that God's predestination of men to eternal life is founded on his foresight and preconsideration of human merits; and that the grace whence these merits are derived, is not efficacious of itself, but by means of our free will; and accordingly pretended, that there is in God a middle science, by which, from the foresight of their nature, faculties, and circumstances, and the influence thereof on their minds, he knows what they will do. The Dominicans, who heartily hated the Jesuites, loudly accused Molina, and his brethren, of reviving the Pelagian heresy. Portugal and Spain were terribly inflamed with their contentions. In 1594, Clement VIII. imagining the heat of their spirits would gradually cool, imposed silence upon both parties, and promised, when convenient, to examine the points himself, and issue forth a decision calculated to the promoting of peace and truth. But the Dominicans exhausted their furious zeal against the doctrines of Molina, and so incessantly fatigued Philip II. of Spain, and Clement himself, with their clamorous noise, that his Holiness was obliged, in 1598, to call a council at Rome to consider the affair. It consisted of cardinal Madrusi, bishop of Trent, the president, and three other bishops, with seven doctors of divinity, chosen from as many different orders. The Dominicans, with the utmost obstinacy, defended the opinions of their darling Thomas Aquinas; while the Jesuites, without fully adopting every tenet of Molina, laboured to have him acquitted of Pelagianism, and declared free from errors of consequence. For several years, the dispute was carried on before this council, or *congregation of help*. But who most dexterously defended their cause, or were most favoured by the Roman court, is, by the disagreement of historians,



rians, rendered hard for us to decide. It is however certain, that in the beginning of the next century, the Dominicans had the ascendant.

### S E C T. III.

#### *The history of the Lutheran church.*

**R**egiomontanus, Agricola, Wessel, Mossilan, Capnio, Erasmus, Stephanus, and others, in the end of the former, or beginning of this century, began to prepare the way of the Lord, and promote the study of the scripture. Albert, the archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, being constituted general farmer or dispenser of Leo X.'s indulgences in Germany, pretended to confer a complete remission of sins, however numerous or aggravated, to every one who had money to purchase them, though none were to be had without it, suppose earnestly begged for the sake of Christ. Tetzel, a bold but abandoned Dominican, was employed by Albert to preach up, and sell off these indulgences. Executing his commission with the utmost impiety, insolence, and fraud, he pretended his pardons were sufficient to efface the guilt, even of ravishing the deified mother of God; and that by them he had saved more souls from hell, than ever St Peter had done by his sermons.

Luther, an Augustinian monk, and professor of divinity in the newly-erected university of Wittenberg, having, in a late sickness, received some instruction in the doctrine of justification from an old priest, and having it confirmed by a perusal of Augustine's works, and having, moreover, but lately seen the horrid abominations of Rome, in a journey he had made thither in behalf of his convent, could not forbear expressing his detestation of the indulgences, and of Tetzel's behaviour.

D. Hume,

D. Hume, and some Popish writers, pretend, that he was offended, because the profitable business to preach up and sell these indulgences was not, as usual, given to the monks of his order. Nothing can be more evidently false than this pretence, founded on an incident expression of Sarpi, but sufficiently refuted by Prierio, Pallavicini, and Graveson, the mortal enemies of Luther. The Augustinians had not been wont to dispose of the indulgences. From 1450 to 1517, we find but one pitiful fellow of that order so employed; and he only as underling to Raymond Perald, the pope's questor. Nay, that business was become so universally odious, and so generally decried by both Franciscans and Dominicans, that none but these of abandoned characters would undertake it. The very commission granted to Albert, was at first offered to the general of the Franciscans; but he and his order refused it. Could Luther envy any man the honour of such detestable work? Did even his enemies charge him herewith during his life? Did not even Cochleus his principal foe, and not much inferior to Satan in impudence and calumny, defer it till after his death?

In September 1517, Luther published ninety-five propositions, in which he taxed the merchants of the indulgences, for their extravagant extortion; and plainly enough pointed out his Holiness, as a partaker in their guilt, who thus suffered the people to be seduced from their due dependence on the merits of Christ. He maintained, the pope had power to remit the ecclesiastical punishments of sin, but not these threatened and inflicted by God. These he contended could only be forgiven by God through the merits of Christ, and the sinner's own voluntary acts of mortification and penance. Multitudes of the Germans, who groaned under the pressure of pontifical avarice, received these doctrines with the utmost avidity, and the

highest applause, whilst the votaries of Rome were struck with horror. The Dominicans, looking upon their order as insulted, in the person of Tetzel, were peculiarly afflicted. Tetzel began the contest, in a pretended refutation of Luther's propositions. Silvester de Prierio, Hoogstrat, and Eckius, Dominican champions, flew to his assistance. It seems the pope was ashamed of Prierio's productions, and ordered him silence. Luther being a man of uncommon spirit, and quite regardless of carnal advantages, stood firm against all his opposers, and answered their reasonings with the greatest strength of argument, and a resolute perseverance. Nevertheless, he, in the most submissive manner, addressed his cause to the pope and several bishops, manifesting the uprightness of his intentions, and the goodness of his opinions; and meanwhile declaring his readiness to change them, whenever he should see them proven erroneous.

For a time, Leo beheld this controversy with contempt; but the emperor Maximilian informing him of its importance, and of the schism that was like to ensue, he summoned Luther to appear before him at Rome, for the decision of his cause. Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, who favoured the doctrines of Luther, superseded the papal summons; alledging, the cause belonged to a German tribunal, and ought to be decided by the ecclesiastical laws of the empire. Leo yielded to the remonstrances of this prudent and magnanimous prince; and ordered Luther to justify his intentions and doctrines before cardinal Cajetan, papal legate in the diet of Augsburg. Nothing could have more effectually inflamed this nice and perilous dispute, than the choice of Cajetan, a Dominican, friend of Tetzel, and declared enemy of Luther, to be arbitrator and judge thereof. Luther, who as yet almost adored his Holiness, and was often in great distraction of mind what he should do, repaired



to Augsbург in October 1518, and in three different meetings conferred with Cajetan on the disputed points. Cajetan did not attempt to prove the opinions of Luther erroneous; but, in the most arrogant manner, required him to renounce them, confess his fault, and respectfully submit to the decision of the pontiff, who was represented in his person. Instead of yielding to these unreasonable terms, so despotically imposed, the intrepid reformer appealed from the present decisions of the pope, in his legate, to these he should pronounce when better informed, and then retired from Augsburg. Meanwhile, Leo published an edict, requiring all his spiritual subjects to acknowledge his power to remit their sin in every respect, and to deliver them from all punishment thereof, human or divine. Luther informed hereof, repaired to Wittemberg, and appealed from the pope to a general council.

His Holiness, at last sensible of his mistake, in the choice of Cajetan, to be judge in the cause of Luther, constituted Charles Miltitz, a lay knight of Saxony, but a member of the papal court, his new legate; and sent him to the Saxon elector, with the present of a golden and consecrated rose, as a mark of distinguished regard. Miltitz was a man of uncommon prudence, penetration, and dexterity. He was ordered by Leo, to require the elector to oblige Luther to renounce his heresy, or to forbear to protect him; but finding that Frederic received him with coldness, if not contempt, and that Luther's credit and cause were too well established in Saxony, to be overturned by mere dint of papal authority, he transacted the affair by more gentle methods. He loaded Tetzel with the bitterest reproaches, for his conduct in the sale of the indulgences, and attributed to him the occasion of all the abuses, whereof Luther had complained. Hence that unhappy wretch, finding himself con-  
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temned, and even detested of both parties, died of grief and despair. Deeply afflicted with his mournful condition, Luther, but without success, wrote him a consolatory missive. By flattery, of which Luther was not unsusceptible, and by soft and pathetic expostulation, Miltitz persuaded him to lay the blame on Albert, and especially on Tetzels, and even to acknowledge himself had been instrumental in raising the commotions, through his representing the indulgences as worse than they really were. In the first conference, he persuaded Luther to write a submissive letter to the pope, promising to observe silence on the topics of dispute, providing his opponents were obliged to do the same. In the second, matters were conducted with such moderation, that an immediate reconciliation was expected.

When the Saxon reformer, without properly retracting his sentiments, was on the very point of reconciliation with Rome, the mad fury of his enemies happily prevented it, and obliged him and his party, to look deeper into the enormities which prevailed in the Romish church. The moderation and soft dealing of Miltitz, was represented by the pontifical bigots, as something worse than indifference about the success of his commission. After receiving diversified marks of neglect from his Holiness, he lost his life in the Rhine, when, perhaps, he went to Rome to account for his conduct. During Miltitz' negotiations with Luther, Eckius happening to differ from Carolstadt, with respect to the powers of the unregenerate will to perform what is spiritually good, in the manner of that barbarous age, challenged him and Luther to a public dispute. In the first conference, Carolstadt maintained, that since the fall, mens natural ability is not sufficient to conduct them to what is truly and spiritually good, without the intervention of God's saving grace. Eckius maintained, that men have

have it in their power, to yield to, or resist the operations of divine grace as they think fit. In the second, Luther insisted, that the pope has no power over general councils, or to remit divine punishments. Eckius laboured to establish the contrary, but was confounded by Luther's heaps of quotations from the scriptures and fathers.

Hoffman, rector of the university of Leipzig, who moderated in this dispute, from want of judgment, or from fear of displeasing either party, refused to declare to whom the victory pertained. The decision was therefore, to the spread of the truth, referred to the famed universities of Paris in France, and Erfurth in Germany. The university of Paris, with these of Cologne and Louvain, declared in favours of Eckius. A very numerous and splendid audience attended these public debates. Among others, Melancthon was thereby convinced of the goodness of Luther's cause; and, by his fertile and elegant genius, his uninterrupted industry, his regard for the liberal arts, and the reformation of philosophy, and especially by his piety and meekness, became a noted instrument of the reformation. Sometimes indeed, his soft temper made him too pliable and yielding, and often he was uneasy when the danger was small; but when dangers were real and formidable, he used to be of a sudden converted into an intrepid hero.

It is said, that Eckius, on this occasion, disputed contrary to the light of his conscience; but it is more certain, that, conscious of his loss of the cause, he conceived an implacable and lasting rage against Luther his wonted friend; and even when Miltitz was upon the point of reconciling that monk to the papal see, he flew to Rome, and, assisted by Cajetan, Prierio, and other Dominicans, insisted with Leo to level his curses at the head of the Saxon heretic, and exclude him from the communion of the church. Leo issued forth a solemn bull, condemn-

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ing forty-one propositions of Luther's, as heretical; and ordered his writings to be publicly burnt, as infinitely wicked and perilous; and himself was summoned, under pain of consignation to the devil and his angels, to confess and retract his errors within sixty days, and to cast himself on the pope's mercy. Informed hereof, Luther renewed his appeal from the sentence of the pope, to the more respectable decision of a general council. Foreseeing that after the elapse of the sixty days, he would, without fail, be laid under the pontifical curse, Luther, perhaps advised by some political statesmen, resolved, by withdrawment from the papal church, to lay a bar in the way of his excommunication. Having erected a large pile of wood without the walls of Wittemberg, he, on December 20. 1520, amidst an infinite crowd of all ranks and orders of persons, committed to the flames the bull which his Holiness had published against him, together with the canon laws establishing the papal supremacy over the Christian church; and thus plainly declared he was no more a member of the papal church, and so could not be expelled from it. Meanwhile he still resolved to submit himself to a general council; and hence not a few of the moderate Papists justified this daring step.

About the middle of next month, the infuriated pontiff published a second bull against him, expelling him from the Christian church, and delivering him over to Satan, on account of his terrible crimes of insulting the majesty, and disowning the authority, of the vicar of Christ; and threatening a similar curse against all his supporters. Nothing intimidated with these Vatican thunders, Luther determined to form a church distinct from the papal, upon the foundations of the law and gospel of Christ. Assisted by Melancthen, and other professors of the university of Wittemberg, he proceeded to examine and overturn from the foundation

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tion the whole of the pontifical authority and jurisdiction. And as the fame of Luther's wisdom, and Melancthon's learning, had drawn incredible numbers of students to the university, the principles of the reformation were propagated with amazing rapidity through almost every country in Europe.

Charles, monarch of Spain, having, in 1519, succeeded to Maximilian his grandfather, as emperor of Germany, Leo required of him, as the *advocate and defender of the church*, to inflict an exemplary punishment on Luther for his horrid rebellion against the pontifical laws. But the wise elector of Saxony, by whose important services Charles had obtained the imperial dignity, in preference to Francis I. monarch of France, insisting that Luther ought to be tried by the canons of the German church and empire, though he had been already condemned, without a hearing, at Rome, Charles complied. Protected by Charles's *safe-conduct*, Luther, upon citation, compeared before the council of Worms, which was not merely a civil court, but by ancient custom a kind of provincial council to the church, in which not a few of the archbishops, bishops, and abbots sat judges. Here, like one equally regardless of devils, popes, and persecutors, he defended his doctrines with the utmost intrepidity and courage. Promises and threatenings were alternately tried for conquering his firmness; but both were equally contemned. Nothing could, in the least, induce him to change either sentiments or conduct, unless he were convinced by the oracles of God.

After he had obtained liberty to return home, he was, by the unanimous voice of the emperor and council, declared an enemy of the holy Roman empire; and orders were issued to apprehend and imprison him, whenever the twenty-one days of his safe-conduct should be expired. Frederic, the elector, perceiving the storm arising, and perhaps with

with the emperor's secret consent, sent some trusty persons in disguise, to apprehend Luther in his return, and carry him into the castle of Wartenburg, as a place of concealment. Here, for the space of ten months, he continued as in a Patmos, writing useful books, and labouring in the translation of the New Testament. Meanwhile many imagining the Papists had imprisoned or murdered him, they became more and more odious. Numbers of the German princes not being present at the enacting of the edict of Worms, and Charles having plenty of work besides in quelling rebellious subjects, and in forming alliances against king Francis, his capital enemy, it could not be got rendered effectual or respected.

Informed, that in his absence the canon law was still taught by some in the university; and that private masses, and auricular confession, were abolished; and that Carlostadt had encouraged the people to throw down and break in pieces the images of the saints which were in the churches; and perhaps offended that another had carried his reformation farther than himself, or that his own plan was executed to the honour of his companion; Luther rushed from his refuge, and stopped the destruction of the images, and their other reformations. He, however, proceeded in his translation of the scripture, till the whole was finished.—Meanwhile the papal legate, in name of his Holiness, demanded of the diet at Nuremberg, a vigorous execution of the edict of Worms against Luther and his followers; and declared the pontiff's readiness to abolish the grievances which had occasioned his rebellion.

Encouraged by this declaration, and by pope Adrian's uncommon mildness; and taking the occasion of the emperor's absence, the German princes insisted to have a general council summoned to

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meet in their own country, for reforming the church; and they exhibited an hundred grievances which they had received from the court of Rome, and her clergy; and prohibited all disputations relative to religion, till the council should publish its decisions. Even such princes as were thoroughly popish, remaining inattentive to the formation of the new church in Saxony, laboured to check the overgrown power of the pope. Nor were they much displeased at what they reckoned a personal contest between him and the Saxon monk.

In 1524, Clement VII. by his legate cardinal Campegius, demanded of the diet at Nuremberg a vigorous execution of the edict of Worms against Luther and his party; but no mention was to be made of Adrian's promise of reforming the church. Charles seconded the papal demands by the ministers which he sent to represent him in this diet. The princes seemed to give up with their late law; but in reality rather confirmed it. They promised to execute the edict of Worms as far as they could; but renewed their demands of a general council, and referred the rest of their business to a future diet at Spire. Perceiving that many of the princes were no enemies to the reformation of Luther, Campegius, with such bishops and princes as he judged faithful to Rome, retired to Ratisbon, and there drew from them a declaration, that they would rigorously execute the edict of Worms in their respective dominions.

While Luther continued sinfully wrangling with Carolostadt and Zuinglius, concerning the manner of our Saviour's presence in the eucharist, a prodigious multitude of enthusiasts, and of such as joined them in hopes of booty, took arms in 1525, to reduce the laws, the magistracy, and every thing orderly. For many ages before, the German peasants had been wont to take arms, when they found themselves oppressed by their superiors. At

the first, religion seemed to be now entirely out of the question. The insurgents, in their manifestoes required nothing but an alleviation of their burdens, and some further degrees of liberty. But when Munzer, a furious enthusiast, who had for a time deceived the people with his pretences to inspirations and visions, put himself at their head, he changed it into a religious warfare. He, and others of his Anabaptist brethren, insisted not only upon a complete civil liberty, but upon the erection of a new church, perfectly holy and unspotted; and pretended they did so by the inspired directions of the Holy Ghost. Some of these rioters taking occasion from Luther's doctrine of gospel-liberty misunderstood, he, by his writings, vindicated himself, and dissuaded their seditious attempts; and when these failed of their end, he, perhaps not very agreeable to the ministerial character, applied himself to rouse the princes to arms against them. These enthusiasts were at last defeated at Mulhausen, in 1525, after multitudes on both sides had perished in this mad insurrection. The frantic and murderous practices of these and their fellow-enthusiasts, being laid to the charge of the reformers in general by their enemies, did no small hurt to the success of the gospel.

John having, in 1525, succeeded to the electorate of Saxony, quickly forsook the reconciling methods of Frederic his brother, and resolved to break with the pope. Assuming a kind of ecclesiastic supremacy, he appointed Luther and Melancthon to draw up a body of laws concerning the worship, offices, and revenues of the church; and by his heralds published it throughout all his dominions. He gave orders that all the churches should be supplied with pastors pious and learned; and that such as were ignorant or immoral, should be turned out of their places. The other princes who favoured the doctrines of Luther, did the same in their respective

respective dominions. This broke the union between them and the princes who remained zealous for Rome. The patrons of Popery, as they wanted arguments, resolved to reduce the Lutherans by arms; and the Lutherans determined to defend themselves the best way they could. A diet of the empire was held at Spire, in which the imperial ministers insisted upon a rigid execution of the edict of Worms against Luther and his followers. Most of the princes opposed this motion, and declared they could not execute it, till the religious disputes were determined by a general council; and they agreed to petition the emperor to procure one, to meet without delay, for reforming the head and members of the church; and that, in the mean time, every prince and state of the empire should manage religious affairs in the manner they thought best, and as they could account to God and the emperor.

While Charles had so much ado to settle his affairs in Spain, Italy, and France, it was beyond his power to curb the reforming spirit in Germany. The pope too, had entered into a league with the French and Venetians against him. Enraged herewith, he had abolished the papal supremacy in Spain, and commenced a war upon his Holiness in Italy. These events afforded the reformers a precious opportunity of propagating their cause. Nor were either pastors or princes wanting in diligence. Having got rid of his perplexities, and being reconciled to the pontiff, Charles found leisure to direct the affairs of the church. In 1529, another diet was held at Spire, in which the religious liberty allowed by the former was revoked; and it was declared unlawful, to introduce any change into the established doctrine or discipline of the church, before the decisions of the general council were known. The elector of Saxony, landgrave of Hesse, and others, reckoned this decision ex-



tremely unjust; and finding, that their arguments made no impression upon Ferdinand, who represented his brother the emperor in the diet, they entered a solemn *protestation* against this deed of the court. From this, they and their reformed brethren were afterwards called *Protestants*. This protest was signed by John, elector of Saxony, George, elector of Brandenburg, Ernest and Francis, dukes of Lüneburg, Philip landgrave of Hesse, the prince of Anhalt, together with the imperial cities of Strasburg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Constance, Rottensburg, Windseim, Memmingen, Nortlingen, Lindaw, Kempton, Heilbron, Wissemburg, and St Gall.

The Protestant princes dispatched proper messengers, to acquaint the emperor with their procedure. These ministers executed their commission with the utmost resolution and prudence. Offended with their boldness and freedom, Charles ordered them to be arrested for some days. Convinced hereby, that their safety or success under God, depended upon their own courage and harmony, the Protestant princes held several meetings at Rot, at Nuremberg, Smalcald, and other places, in order to contrive and frame a league, sufficient to repel the violence of their enemies; but the difference of their opinions and views, hindered them from coming to any satisfactory conclusion. As the difference between the divines of Saxony and Switzerland, concerning the manner of our Saviour's presence in the eucharist, and now reduced to a formal dispute by Bugenhagenius the Saxon, was one principal source of discord; the landgrave of Hesse, in order to terminate the controversy, procured a friendly conference at Marburg, in 1529, between Luther and Melancthon on the one hand, and Oecolampadius and Zuinglius on the other, with some others. The conference lasted four days; and Luther disputed with Oecolampadius;

padius; and Melancthon with Zuinglius. Zuinglius cleared himself from the charges some had laid against him, relative to our Saviour's divinity, the efficacy of God's word, original sin, and the like. But the difference relative to the sacramental presence of Christ remained the same, without any modification on either side; Luther and his party maintaining, that the body and blood of Christ were really and corporally present *in, with, and under* the bread and wine; and the Swiss divines insisting, that these elements were but signs and means of applying his body and blood. They nevertheless agreed to bear with one another, till Providence and time might bring them to see eye to eye in the truth. But the very next year, the Lutherans refused to make the cause of the reformed, a common one with their own in the imperial diet.

While the Protestant princes were preparing a new embassy for the emperor, they were informed of his intended return to Germany, in order to terminate their religious disputes, in the diet of Augsburg. Amidst the horrors and hurry of war, Charles had not a little considered the nature and consequences of these contests; and had consulted several of the more wise and experienced thereon. This had rendered him more cool, moderate, and impartial. In an interview with the pope at Bologna, he earnestly solicited the calling of a general council. But Clement, deaf to all his entreaties, told him, that his soft compassion was ill judged; and that it was his duty to support the church, and to execute a proper and speedy vengeance upon the stubborn heretics that annoyed her. Charles paid little regard to this haughty discourse; and looked upon it as absurd to condemn men unheard, or to destroy, without evidence of guilt, such as had always behaved as good subjects. That the emperor, while in this good humour, might have

a perspicuous view of their doctrines, and the causes of their opposition to Popery, the elector of Saxony appointed Luther, and some other divines, to form a compendious system of their leading principles, and of their differences from the Roman church. Seventeen articles being agreed upon, at the conference of Sultzbach, Luther delivered them to the princes, who thereafter met at Coburg and Augsburg. They required Melancthon to enlarge them, that by a judicious detail, they might give perspicuity to their arguments, and add strength to their cause. Thus was formed the famous *Augustan confession*, or confession of Augsburg, which is still of authority in all the Lutheran churches, next to the scriptures.

In June 1530, Charles opened the imperial diet at Augsburg. To pave the way for unanimous deliberations relative to the impending war with the Turks, he, to the great offence of his Holiness, allowed the Protestant princes to present to the diet an account of their religious principles. Christian Bayer, chancellor of Saxony, publicly read the above-mentioned confession, which was heard with the utmost attention. It confirmed some of the princes in their religious sentiments, and persuaded others of the purity and simplicity of the Lutheran opinions. Some copies signed by the elector of Saxony, the marquiss of Brandenburg, Ernest duke of Lunenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, and the imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, were delivered to the emperor. The pontifical members of the diet employed Faber, afterwards bishop of Vienna, with Eckius and Cochleus, to draw up a refutation of this famed confession. Upon reading thereof in the diet, Charles required the Protestant princes to acquiesce therein. Instead hereof, they desired a copy of that refutation, that they might shew the fallacy thereof. But Charles, instigated by the papal legate, and his party,



party, refused their request; and prohibited the publishing of any more writings on that head. Melancthon, and his brethren, drew up a reply to the Popish refutation, from their memory. It was presented to the emperor; but he refused to receive or consider it. When the refutation was published, Melancthon emitted a more full reply.

To find a proper method of terminating these religious contentions, appeared more and more difficult. Some were for allowing every man to worship God according to the light of his own conscience, in so far as the public tranquillity was not thereby disturbed. Others judged it proper to force the Protestants back to the church. Others thought that somewhat ought to be yielded on both sides. This, to the great vexation of his Holiness, was the mind of Charles the emperor. Hence, a number of conferences were held between learned men of both parties, to see if any means of reconciliation could be obtained. As in these theological disputes, Melancthon shone forth with peculiar brightness, the Popish party did what they could to gain him over to their side. Their flattery was apt to make him yield too much; but their threatenings revived his courage and ardour.

These attempts issuing in smoke, Charles, in November 1530, when the Protestant princes were absent, procured an edict against them, requiring them, and their brethren, to return to the Romish church, under pain of incurring the vengeance of the emperor, as her patron and protector. Informed hereof, the Protestant chiefs, assembling at Smalcald, and afterwards at Frankfort on the Maine, entered into a solemn league, to assist and defend one another, in the maintenance of their religion and liberty. Into this alliance they, but without much advantage, invited the kings of France, England, and Denmark, with several other states. Though they made no scruple of alliance with fu-  
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rious Catholics, Luther, in his unchristian bigotry, dissuaded them from connecting themselves with the followers of Zuinglius in Switzerland, and of Bucer in Upper Germany. Charles, who greatly needed the assistance of the Protestant princes in his Turkish war, and to promote the election of his brother Ferdinand to be king of the Romans, and so apparent heir to the imperial throne, was not a little alarmed with this powerful confederacy. The elector Palatine, and the archbishop of Mentz, offered their mediation. After many unsuccessful overtures, a treaty was concluded at Nuremberg, in 1532, upon the following terms, That the Protestant princes should furnish a subsidy for the Turkish war, and acknowledge Ferdinand king of the Romans; and that, on the other side, Charles should annul the edicts of Worms and Augsburg against them, and allow the Lutherans in general the free exercise of their religion, till a general council, or imperial diet, should agree upon some fixed rule of faith. This edict was afterwards ratified in six several diets of the empire. In consequence of it, several princes and cities, which had before secretly hated the Romish corruptions, embraced the doctrines of Luther.

The pontiff was still warmly solicited to assemble a general council, for healing the wounds of the church, which were every where breaking out. Dreading the powers thereof, he shifted it off as long as he could. But finding, that the provincial synods of Bourges and Paris in France, had taken upon them, not only to make laws against the spread of the Protestant heresy, but had enacted a variety of laws for reforming of the grosser disorders of their church; and that there was reason to apprehend the same would quickly be the case in Germany; as indeed it was not very long after, in the case of the bishops of Cologne, Treves, &c.; he at last offered to assemble one in Italy. But the Protestants

Protestants insisted for one in Germany, where the principal divisions took place. Nor were they fond of one of papal convocation. Paul III. succeeding to Clement in 1534, the very next year summoned one to meet at Mantua in Italy. As the pope, who was a party, had called it, without acknowledging either princes or emperor, and had fixed it to a place where he could influence it at pleasure, the Protestants, at their meeting of Smalcald, entered a solemn protestation against the validity thereof. Nor would the duke of Mantua allow his city for the council's use. The Protestant princes, nevertheless, caused Luther draw up *the Articles of Smalcald*, to be presented to the council, as a summary of their faith, in case it should meet. Meanwhile, Germany, especially Westphalia, was terribly distressed with the mad ravages of the Anabaptists. This drew new reproaches on the Protestant cause; and multitudes of the innocent were persecuted and murdered along with the guilty.

The council not assembling at Mantua, Charles, and the Protestant princes, tried several other means to heal their divisions. But his Holiness took care to disconcert them. In 1541, Charles appointed a public conference at Worms. After Melancthon had disputed four days with Eckius, it was transferred to Ratisbon, where it continued about two months; and produced nothing but a mutual agreement to refer the matters to a general council, or, if that should not meet, to an imperial diet. Cardinal Contareni was blamed for betraying the Catholic cause: but it is probable, he did all that his conscience would permit him. An imperial diet being held at Ratisbon, nothing but confusions ensued. In the diet of Spire, 1542, the pope, by his legate, declared his intentions of calling a council at Trent. The Popish princes consented to the place; but the Protestants ob-  
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jected to it, and to the pope's calling of it by himself; and they demanded a free council, not overawed by the nearness of the pontiff.

To manifest his inclinations towards the reformation of the church, pope Paul IV. spared time from his incestuous amours, and caballing intrigues, to order four cardinals, with five assistants, to draw up a plan of reformation. Partial as it was, it contained some things hardly expected. It condemned translations and non-residence of clergymen, grants of reservation, and plurality of benefices with the charge of souls thereto annexed. It proposed, that some convents should be abolished; that methods should be taken for curing the clerical ignorance; that clergymens effects and personal estates should, at their death, be given to the poor. It condemned the magnificent lodgment of whores, especially at Rome, and the public attendance of the clergy upon them. About 1544, the emperor, and king of France, published forms of Popish doctrine, to be adhered to in all their dominions: but these being attended with no scriptural proof, were, on that account, derided by Luther and Bucer.

In 1546, Luther died in a most Christian and courageous manner. His behaviour testifies him to have been a truly great man. Undaunted zeal for whatever he thought truth, intrepid and unwearied diligence to promote it, uncommon sanctity, and ever-austerity of manners, with an almost perfect disinterestedness to lucrative views, were the distinguishing lines of his character. Persuaded of the goodness of his cause, he assured himself of success in spite of all that devils and men could do to oppose him. His faith, humility, boldness, and success, in prayer, as well as his conflicts with temptations, were very remarkable. It is a pity, his zeal should ever have degenerated into bigotry and arrogance; and that he should have been

been so ready to treat his opposers, king Henry of England, and the far greater Erasmus, not excepted, with contempt and scurrilous abuse. But he imagined, that such as trampled on his glorious Master, or his truth, could not be too roughly handled. It is said, he had been less furious against the Zuinglians and Calvinists, had not Amstdorf, and perhaps others, misrepresented them, and irritated his spirit against them. It is pretty certain, that, on his death-bed, he lamented to Melancthon his standing so much in the way of an union with them; and begged he would labour to effectuate it after his death.

The general council, consisting at first of about twenty-five members, having assembled at Trent, in 1545, and proceeded some length in their decisions; Charles, instigated by the pontiff, resolved to force the Protestants, who refused to regard its authority, to a submission by the power of his sword. While he employed himself in levying his army, John of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse, marched their forces into Bavaria; and at Ingoldstadt, cannonaded his army with uncommon spirit, and threw him into the utmost perplexity. But from that time, the Protestant affairs took a most unfavourable turn. The king of France neglected to furnish the subsidies which he had promised. By means of Charles's dissimulation, divisions were fomented among the Protestant princes. Their army was divided, and soon after dispersed. Seduced by Charles, Maurice, duke of Saxony, nephew of the elector, and son-in-law of the landgrave of Hesse, perfidiously invaded his uncle's dominions, in his absence. John marched his troops from Bavaria to defend his own territories against his nephew. The imperial troops pursued him; and, by forced marches, overtook him at Mulhausen, April 24. 1547. After a bloody battle, the elector's army, perhaps through the treachery of his officers,

officers, was entirely defeated, himself was taken prisoner, and his electorate was bestowed on Maurice, as the reward of his unnatural perfidy. Instigated by Maurice, Philip of Hesse threw himself on the emperor's mercy. By a scandalous violation of the agreement made with him, he was detained and imprisoned. When Maurice complained hereof, Charles pretended he had only engaged to exempt him from *perpetual* imprisonment; and it is said, that his ministers, particularly cardinal Perenotte of Granvelle, had perfidiously foisted into the treaty *ewiger*, which signifies *perpetual*, instead of *einiger*, which signifies *any*.

The Protestants of Germany being now reduced to the brink of ruin, were every where exposed to the mercy of their cruel and bloody opposers. Maurice, and the most of their princes, were obliged, in the diet of Augsburg, to consent, that their religious disputes should be submitted to the council of Trent. Meanwhile, the fear of a plague, rather pretended than real, dispersed the Trentine fathers; and part of them retired to Bologna. Nor could his Holiness be induced to hasten their return to Trent, where the German, Spanish, and French divines obstinately remained. To chastise the obstinate pontiff, and establish an *interim* rule of religion, which should oblige all parties till the council should be reassembled, or at least, summoned to meet, Charles appointed Julius Pflug, bishop of Naumberg, Michael Sidonius, a zealous Papist, and John Agricola, a Lutheran, to draw up a temporary standard of faith. Their *interim* formula retained all the principal doctrines of Rome, considerably softened, or varnished over with ambiguous expressions. It allowed priests to marry, and the people to have the use of the eucharistical cup, till the council should meet. As both Papists and Lutherans detested this *interim* rule, Charles, to force their submission, turned the empire into a  
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scene of blood and confusion. For a time, Maurice steered a middle course, between submission to, and rejection of this new rule of faith. He at last convened his nobility and clergy, to advise what was best to be done. Melancthon too, unwilling to offend either the emperor or the elector, said, the *interim* might be received as an authoritative rule, as to that part of it which did not relate to fundamentals, but respected the ceremonies of worship. This distinction produced a schism among the Lutherans, which made their case more and more wretched.

Next year, 1549, Julius III. succeeding to Paul in the pontifical chair, at the solicitation of Charles, consented to reassemble the council of Trent. Charles procured the consent of most of the princes of Germany. To regain the esteem of his party, especially in Saxony, Maurice qualified his consent, with the subsequent conditions, that whatever had been formerly discussed by the council, should be considered afresh, in the presence of the Protestant divines, or their deputies; that the Protestants should have a vote along with the Papists; and that neither the pope nor his legates should preside: but the diet refused to register his terms. The Protestant divines prepared for the council. Melancthon of Saxony, and Brentius of Wartemberg, drew up new formulas of their principles, to be laid before it. Several divines of both countries set off for Trent. But Maurice stopped his by the way. Nor did their cause suffer any hurt hereby; for the council quite contemned all the complaints preferred by the Protestants.

An ambitious desire of absolute power chiefly influenced the conduct of Charles. He hoped, by the German divisions, to extend his own authority, and, by means of the council, to depress that of the pontiff. In both, his aims were frustrated. Convinced that the emperor was forming designs

against the liberties of the empire, and provoked with the continued imprisonment of his father in-law, notwithstanding the solicitations of almost all the respectable powers of Europe for his liberty, Maurice, having entered into a treaty with the French king, Henry II. and some princes of Germany, raised a powerful army, and marched with such expedition against Charles, that he almost took him prisoner at Inspruck. Alarmed, and quite dispirited, Charles was willing to make peace with the Protestants, on almost any terms they pleased; and soon after, in 1552, the pacification of Passaw was concluded. By this, the interim rule of faith was abolished; and it was agreed, that if neither the council of Trent, nor the imperial diet, could effect an uniformity in religion, both Papists and Protestants should be allowed the free exercise of their own opinions; that all who had suffered on account of the Smalcaldic league, or the war consequential thereto, should be reinstated in their privileges, possessions, and employments in the empire; and that there should always be a number of Protestants members of the imperial chamber of Spire. To this treaty, Albert of Brandenburg refused to accede, but continued the war on the Catholics, with such incredible ravage and bloodshed, that his Protestant brethren took up arms to check him.

These troubles retarded the imperial diet intended for settling the affairs of religion. At last, it met at Augsburg, in 1555; and Ferdinand, who, about that very time, had banished about two hundred of the Bohemian ministers, for their opposition to Popery, presided, instead of his brother the emperor. After plenty of debate, it was enacted, that the Lutherans or Protestants of the Confession of Augsburg, should be considered as exempted from the authority of the pope, and his bishops, and allowed to make their own ecclesiastical

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cal laws; that all the inhabitants of Germany should be allowed to judge for themselves, in matters of religion, and to join what church they judged most pure, and agreeable to the spirit of Christianity; that all such as should injure or persecute any upon religious pretexts, should be held and punished as enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace. This treaty provided no express relief for the other Protestants; nay, we are assured by some good vouchers, that these of Germany had no law securing them against the prosecution of heretics, till the treaty of Westphalia was concluded, in *A. D.* 1648.

This treaty, in which the Lutherans had so shamefully neglected the case of their brethren, tended to check the spread of their own church; for it enacted, That if any archbishop, or beneficed clergyman, should renounce the Roman faith, as Herman, archbishop of Cologne, had done eight years before, he should be deprived of his dignity and benefice. Accordingly when Gerard, another archbishop of Cologne, towards the end of this century, formed a design of entering into the Protestant church, he was obliged to resign his dignity, forego his revenues, and abandon his country. The Popish party too almost perpetually endeavoured the subversion of this treaty; and contended, that it was null and void, because it was concluded without his Holiness's consent. Such Protestants as resided in Austria and Bohemia, or under other Popish princes, were most cruelly harassed and persecuted; and, by the end of the century, these of Austria were stripped of almost the whole of their liberty.

According to the accounts of several, Lutheranism was introduced into Saxony, and among the people of Mansfeldt, before 1520. It was preached at Creichsaw 1521. It was received at Goslar, Rostock, Reitling, Hall in Suabia, Hamburg, Trep-



row in Pomerania, and Riga in Livonia, 1522; in Prussia, 1523; at Einbeck, in the duchy of Lunenburg, and at Nuremberg and Breslaw, in 1525; in Hesse, in 1526; at Aldenburg, Strasburg, and Brunswick, in 1528; at Gottingen, Lemgon, and Lunenburg, in 1530; at Munster and Paderborn, in 1532; at Ethlingen and Ulm, in 1533; in the duchy of Grubenhagen, at Hanover, and in Pomerania, in 1534; in the duchy of Wirtemberg, in 1535; at Cotbus in Lower Lusatia, in 1537; in the county of Lippe, in 1538; in the electorate of Brandenburg, at Bremen, Hall in Saxony, Leipzig in Misnia, and at Quedlingburg, in 1539; at Embden, Hailbron, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg, in 1540; in the Palatine duchy of Newburg, at Regensburg, and Wismar, in 1542; at Buxtende, Hildesheim, and Osnaburg, in 1543; in the Lower Palatinate, in 1546; in Mecklenburg, in 1552; in the marquisates of Durlach and Hochberg, in 1556; in the county of Bentheim, in 1564; at Hagenaw, and in the lower marquisate of Baden, in 1568; and in the duchy of Magdeburg, in 1570.

Scarce had Luther made his appearance in Saxony, when some of his followers carried his doctrine into Denmark and Sweden. About 1520, Christiern II. of Denmark, from a principle of ambition or avarice, desired to rescue his kingdom from the enslaving power of the pope and his bishops. Upon his invitation, Martin Reynard, and after his death, Carlostadt officiated as professor of divinity at Hafnia. Carlostadt quickly wearied of his station, and returned to Germany. Christiern having, with inexpressible satisfaction, heard Luther preach at Sweidnitz, earnestly, but without success, intreated him to visit his dominions. To render himself the head of the church, and obtain the wealth of the bishops, he took several steps to depress their authority. His oppressed subjects ha-

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ving deposed this tyrannical wretch in 1523, Frederic his uncle, duke of Holstein, was made king in his stead. He conducted himself with great prudence and moderation. He did not overturn the established government or discipline of the church; but he permitted the Lutheran doctors to teach their opinions. In 1527, in an assembly of the states at Oldensee, he procured an edict, allowing every one to continue Papist, or become Lutheran, as he pleased; and allowing priests, monks, and nuns, to marry at pleasure. Christiern III. a prince equally remarkable for his piety and prudence, carried forward the reformation. He suppressed the despotic authority of the bishops; and restored to the right owners a great part of the wealth they had fraudulently seized. He appointed the learned and pious, though fiery Bugenhagius, whom he had brought from Wittemberg, to compose a formula of the Christian doctrine, discipline, and government, and got it ratified by the states at Oldensee in 1539. Thus the Lutheran form of religion was established in Denmark and Norway.

In Sweden, the cruel Christiern of Denmark being expelled and deposed, Gustavus Ericson was enthroned in his place. Having for some time lived an exile at Lubec, he had been instructed in the principles of the reformation. These he considered not only as agreeable to the spirit of the gospel, but also as calculated to promote the civil advantages of his kingdom. He engaged Olaus Petri, if not also Laurence his brother, to spread them in his dominions. Notwithstanding the hard Arceimbod, the merchant of the indulgences for Sweden, and several other bishops, had had in the late oppressions by Christiern of Denmark, the people strangely adhered to their old religion; or at least fluctuated between it and the doctrines of Luther. Gustavus avoided every harsh method of converting them to the truth; but took care to

have them thoroughly instructed in the knowledge of the scripture; and for that purpose, called to him several German divines, and promoted the spread of the Swedish translation, which the two Petri's had published.

In 1526, he appointed a public disputation between Olaus Petri, and Gallius a zealous Papist. The manifest advantage which Olaus had over his antagonist, confirmed Gustavus in his belief of the doctrines of Luther. He therefore, in 1527, recommended them to his estates at Westeraas, to be received as the religion of the nation, with so much warmth, as made a very deep impression. The bishops, whose wealth and wickedness were equally enormous, opposed his designs to the utmost. Some of them had revenues superior to the king, and possessed castles and fortresses, which rendered them independent on the crown, and dangerous to the state. Gustavus stood firm against all opposition. He publicly declared, that he would lay down his sceptre, and retire from his kingdom, rather than govern a people enslaved by the pope and his bishops, and controulled by their tyrannical dictates, more than by the laws of their sovereign. The remembrance of Christiern's cruelty, from which Gustavus had, with infinite labour and hazard, delivered them, made the states absolutely unwilling to lose so important a sovereign. They therefore agreed to abolish the papal authority, and Gustavus was declared head of the church under Christ.

While their Popish opposers left no possible means unessayed to ruin them, the Lutherans, with no less ardour, laboured to confirm their ecclesiastical constitution. About 1530, it began to acquire a regular form; and by the treaties of Passaw and Augsborg, it became a finished structure. The holy scriptures, from which they excluded the Apocrypha,



crypha, though even these are too much prized by them, in the manner of the English church, were admitted, as their only proper and infallible standard of faith and manners. Subordinate to these, they reckoned the Confession of Augsbург, the Articles of Smalcald, and the Shorter and Larger Catechisms of Luther, to which most of their churches added the Form of concord. They were not uniform in their rites of worship. Some insisted for retaining every one used in the Popish church, that was not evidently sinful. Others insisted for laying the most of them aside. This difference for a time occasioned intestine contentions. They generally retained the use of images in their churches, not as objects of worship, but as means of instruction. They retained a kind of auricular confession before the sacrament, and the use of wafers therein instead of bread. They retained the crossing in baptism, the celebration of holy-days, and in fine, most of the superstitions used in the church of England. Their liturgies, used in different nations or places, agreed in essentials; but differed widely in things not divinely commanded. Their children were carefully instructed in the principles of Christianity, not only in their schools, but also in the public catechising of their ministers. The catechisms of Luther, with a variety of explications thereof, regulated these instructions.

Their princes assume a kind of headship in the external government of the church: but their fundamental laws restrain them from making any essential or arbitrary alteration, in their doctrines, government, or worship. In Sweden and Denmark they have a kind of bishops. There are six such in Denmark, and four in Norway. The Swedes have ten bishops and one archbishop; but these have little more power than the other clergy: and even the archbishop of Upsal, who is primate of all Sweden, has not above four hundred pounds

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Sterling a-year. They are not allowed to interfere in the least with the civil government. But it is said, they, especially these of Denmark, earnestly desire to be on a similar footing with the lords of the English church. In Germany, they have no bishops at all among their church-officers, but superintendants who preside in their consistories or councils; and whose power is somewhat similar to that of the Scotch moderators, a little extended.

For some time after the reformation, the Lutheran clergy retained the power of excommunicating the obstinately scandalous. But their princes perceiving their furious tempers, and finding they abused their censorial authority, to promote their selfish purposes; and fearing their exercise of it might prove detrimental to the rights of society, have long ago wrested it from them. It is not therefore surprising, that the Lutherans, both ministers and people, are so remarkably depraved in their morals, when they have almost no discipline or power of correcting the most scandalous enormities.

It is nevertheless certain, that their church produced multitudes of distinguished saints. The preaching of the gospel among them, especially before they plunged themselves over head and ears in their contentions, was attended with remarkable success, much like to that in the apostolic age. The ignorant were enlightened in the knowledge of Christ, and digged for understanding as for hid treasures. The scriptures were made their companions, and the joy of their heart. The worldlings were rendered ready to part with all, and to count all but loss for the excellency of Christ. The doctrine of Jesus' imputed righteousness, as the sole ground of a sinner's justification before God, not only shone forth like the morning-star among their other principles, but reigned in their hearts, constraining them to a grateful and  
holy.

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holy obedience to God's law. Reading of the scripture, and fervent prayers, were their daily business. In fine, the grace of God which brought them salvation, taught multitudes of them, who had formerly wallowed in impiety, to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; and to shine as lights in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation. Some of their nobles thought it their honour to worship God with their families, and to pour forth their requests to him, with plentiful effusions of tears. Some even of their lawyers and physicians, were singular instances of piety and fellowship with God \*.

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\* Sebald Munster made it his study to render his skill in the law subservient to promote peace, however much it interfered with his own private interest. At his death in 1540, he shewed great patience. When his friends visited him some hours before his exit, he shewed them the pestilential boils on his arms and legs, saying, "O what precious marks are these, which Christ hath put upon me! and how pleasant! Loath not the sight; for I am now putting on my wedding-apparel; and am going to enjoy that heavenly feast with Christ for ever. In this sad dress, I sit to the glorious assembly of the spirits of just men above." Matthias Wessonbechius, another lawyer of Wittenberg, who died in 1556, was first affected by beholding the sufferings of a poor man, for the sake of the truth. He took a marvellous pleasure in reading the Psalms, and the New Testament. He died in great serenity and comfort, oft repeating these words, *Who hath confirmed us, and given us the seal of the Spirit.---O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death! I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.---* "Now," said he to his friends, "the Lord hath given me a sight of that everlasting joy in which I shall be quickly, and which my great longing is to have hastened." And just when expiring, cried out, "I am in the covenant with Jesus Christ." John Clotzius, counsellor of law, and afterwards, against his will, chancellor to the landgrave of Hesse, when dying, expressed himself thus; "The whole of my life is placed in God.---O let thy servant depart in peace. Thou art my sure anchor, my salvation and only refuge. Now the honours of this world, and all momentary things, yea, life itself, is distasteful, in respect of these eternal joys for which I breathe, and  
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The Lutheran doctors applied themselves to the different branches of learning known in this age. Melancthon, Cario, Chytræus, Reineccius, and others, excelled in the knowledge of history. Flacius

to which I joyfully hasten." Joachim Berger, counsellor to the emperor Maximilian, before his death, said, "I have some desire to renounce the world; but resolve to die a capital enemy to my pride.--I will wait till my change come.--Though I be most weak, I am one of Christ's sheep, whom Satan, with all his power, shall never be able to pluck out of his hand.--Nothing can ever be able to separate me from the love of Christ.--He is my life, and the length of my days.--Adieu, adieu, all earthly things, and welcome heaven. Let none hereafter mention the things of this world to me.--Never was I more firmly persuaded of the truth; nor ever found the Spirit of God bearing more full and comfortable to my soul, for my adherence to the truth. Now, were I called, however timorous before, I could lay down my life for the truth."

Passing the great Peucer, to whom unnatural imprisonment by his Lutheran brethren was so useful for depressing of his pride, and other physicians, I shall only mention Joachim Curzus. After a most heavenly life, he died in 1573. On that occasion, these, and many similar expressions, flowed from his heart, when overwhelmed with the consolations of Christ: "I am oppressed, Lord; but it is enough that thy hand hath done it. My body now suffers because of sin; but my soul is raised up, and comforted with the assurance of eternal life.--I will wrestle till the brightness of thy light appear to me.--At the beginning of this year I shall be with thee; shall be satisfied with thy vision; and drink the wine of everlasting joy in thy Father's house, where there are many mansions, and one for me. Now my heart is quite inflamed with the views of everlasting life.--With desire to come to thee, my soul leaps for joy.--Oh dissolve me, that I may come to thee.--I groan for that dwelling above, which thou hast revealed to me. As the traveller, in the dark night, looks for the rising sun, so do I earnestly look for that brightness which is in the immediate vision of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.--I shall see my exalted Saviour in the flesh; and there bless him for all the blessings I have had from him.--We shall follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. O thrice glorious! O divine Leader!--Come, let us go forth to meet our Redeemer.--This is life indeed, which Christ hath begun in my soul.--Now I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.--I die in the Lord, who is my life.--O sweet change; from sin to holiness; from darkness to light; from death to life!--Now I die, witnessing to the truth of the prophets and apostles, and adhering to the

Augustan

cus Illyricus, Nicolas Gallus, John Wigand, and Matthias Judex, all ministers of Magdeburg, may justly be considered as parents of ecclesiastical history, in their immortal *Centuries*, or system of ecclesiastical antiquities; to whom we may join Chemnitz, in his Examination of the council of Trent. Melancthon, Camerarius, and others, with great zeal, promoted the study of Latin eloquence and poetry. At first, both Luther and Melancthon decried every species of philosophy; and indeed, what was in vogue scarce deserved better usage. They afterwards changed their sentiments. Melancthon published abridgments of the various branches of philosophy, as plain as he could make them; and which he extracted from the different

Augustan Confession, and blessing the Lord, who, in his marvellous goodness, hath made the light to arise after such darknesses."

Shall I here add an hint of the learned Olympia Fulvia Morata, a physician's wife? She had a court-education, along with the princess of Ferrara. Providence having bereaved her of her father, and of the wonted smiles of the court, she married a German physician, that was occasionally in Italy, and had scarce got to Germany with him, when, perhaps by his pious advice or example, the Lord captivated her heart. In a letter to her friend the princess, she says, "So soon as, by the singular goodness of God to me, I had got out from the idolatry of my own country, it may seem incredible to you, what a change the Lord made on my spirit. The scriptures, which were once my aversion, became my greatest delight and pleasure---I may say, my only comfort and pleasure. This world, with its pleasures and delights, which I once admired, are become quite contemptible to me." On her death-bed she said, "For these seven years past, since the Lord engaged me to himself, I have seldom been free of Satan's assaults; but now he seems as if he had lost all his darts. I feel nothing in my soul but inexpressible tranquillity, and peace with God, through Jesus Christ. All I want, is to be dissolved, and to be with Christ---Oh the goodness of God in bringing me from my native country; in enlightening me with the knowledge of his truth; in taking my heart off the world, and its pleasures and delights; and working in me so ardent a desire after eternal life, about which I have nothing to fear." Just ex-  
piring, she said to her husband, "I am quite full of joy and consolation, but now I know you no more."

systems

systems of these times, as suited his own taste. These abridgments long maintained their ground in the Lutheran seminaries of learning. But the Jesuites, in their disputes, making so much use of the subtleties of Aristotle, the Lutheran doctors thought themselves obliged to do the same, in order to refute them. Hence, towards the end of the century, the philosophers were divided into the Melanëthonian, the pure Aristotelian, and the scholastic. The followers of Ramus, in some places, attacked all the three; till at length they were banished from the Lutheran schools. Paracelsus, a physician, introduced a new kind of fire-philosophy, in which the nature of every thing material was to be examined by chemical operations. Fludd in England, Rivier in France, Severin in Denmark, and Kunrath in Germany, were the chief promoters of this science. Weigelius, Arndius, ministers, with Hoffman, professor of divinity at Helmstadt, were also addicted to it; and decried every other kind of philosophy, as hurtful to religion. After kindling a furious dispute with his colleagues, and others, Hoffman was forced to recant his invectives against philosophy in general, and publicly to acknowledge the harmony of true philosophy with the doctrines of Christ.

With no less ardour, did the Lutheran clergy apply themselves to the illustration of scripture. While Luther, and his imitators, maintaining the unity of the sense, endeavoured to give it as literally and plainly as they could, and to apply it as they went along, to illustrate some article of their faith, Melanëthon, and others, divided the discourses of scripture according to their rules of rhetoric; and pointed out the literal sense; but seldom applied it for confirming their opinions, or for refuting these of their adversaries. A third sort, in the manner of Origen, still hunted for allegories, and considered

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considered almost every thing as typical of Christ and his church. The Harmonies of the Gospels, by Osiander, Bugenhagen, Jonas, Chemnitz, and his continuators; the commentaries of Strigelius, and Camerarius; the Glossary and key of Scripture, by Illyricus, are of no inconsiderable merit. Melancthon composed a Common-place book in theology, which he often improved and corrected. It was at first extremely plain and simple; but he afterwards added a variety of philosophical terms and illustrations. None published any formal system of moral theology; but in the writings of Luther, Melancthon, Weller, and Rivius, a vast many excellent rules of morality are interspersed. The Lutheran divines especially applied themselves to controversy. Such as lived next to the reformation, were remarkable for their simplicity, and drew their arguments from the scriptures and fathers. By the end of the century, the Jesuites had decoyed them into a defence of their cause, by the distinctions of Aristotle and the schoolmen, that it might be the more easily perplexed. Instigated by the cruelty and baseness of their Popish adversaries, and infected with the barbarous temper and custom of the age, almost all the Lutherans, Melancthon excepted, in their disputes, discover a degree of animosity and bitterness, not reconcileable with the rules of the gospel.

The Lutheran church almost perpetually laboured in pangs of intestine division. In its very infancy, it was plagued with one between Luther and Carolostadt. While Luther lay concealed in the castle of Wartenburg, Carolostadt, who differed from him concerning the eucharistical presence of our Saviour's body and blood, Bugenhagen, Melancthon, Jonas, Amsdorf, and others, with the elector's allowance, suppressed private masses, ejected images from the churches, and abolished cleri-

cal celibate. Luther took it so ill, that this should have been done without acknowledging him, that it was long ere he could be reconciled to Carolo-stadt, who, it seems, had been the principal agent. About 1525, Carolostadt published a tract against Luther's notion of consubstantiation. He did not adopt the abominable tenets of the frantic Anabaptists: but perhaps his desire of the abolishment of the civil laws of the empire, and the substitution of the judicial ones in their room, together with his imprudent declamations against human learning, encouraged that rabble, and made him believed to be one of them. He was therefore banished from Saxony, and retired to Switzerland, where he published a treatise against the Anabaptists, and addressed it to Luther. Pleased herewith, Luther repented of the trouble he had given him, and procured his recal to Saxony. Upon his return home, he published a tract on the eucharist, which breathes forth a most amiable spirit of moderation and humility. Having some time after returned to Switzerland, he was made pastor and doctor of divinity at Zurich, where, after a most Christian life, he died in 1541.

The enthusiastic fury of the Anabaptists, once bid fair to have ruined the Lutheran church: but Luther's writings against them cleared himself, and tended to suppress their commotions, and prevent their increase. About the middle of the century, Swenkfeldt, a Silesian knight, seconded by Crantwald, a man of eminent learning, revived the doctrine of Carolostadt, affirming, that the bread and wine in the Lord's supper, are but symbols of his body and blood; and added thereto a number of whims of his own. Notwithstanding of his purity in morals, and most exemplary practice, and of his care and zeal to exhort his neighbours to piety and virtue, his brethren banished him from his country; in consequence of which, after much wandering,

wandering, he died in 1561. He believed, that not the external word of scripture, but the internal word of God, enlightens, heals, and renews the human heart: but his discourses on these points were much like these of the Quakers, scarce intelligible. In a manner scarce different from too many of his Lutheran brethren, he maintained, that the human nature of Christ, in its exalted state, ought not to be reckoned a creature. A small congregation of his followers still subsist in Silesia.

In maintaining the impossibility of justification by the works of the law, Luther used strong, and sometimes ill-guarded expressions, which, to the inattentive, seemed to depreciate the law and good works. John Agricola, a noted theologian of Aisleben, thence took occasion to declaim against the law in general, as not fit to be used as a means of instruction in the Christian church. On account of this, he and his followers were called *Antinomians*, or *enemies of the law*. Luther earnestly withstood him, and brought him to renounce his peculiar opinions; but it is said, he returned to them after Luther's death, and procured a number of followers. Perhaps, his hand in compiling the Interim, was one reason they were not more numerous. They are said to have taught, that the law of God is not binding upon men under the New Testament; but they may, without sin, follow the impulse of their nature, and do what they please, if they but apprehend and rely on Christ by a true and lively faith. But whatever his followers might do, it is probable, that Agricola, by his uncouth phrases, meant no more than, that the ten commandments are not binding upon Christians, as delivered by Moses, but as reindulged by Jesus Christ, and his apostles.

In several points, Melancthon differed from Luther. He thought, that, for the sake of peace, one might, upon certain terms, submit to the Ro-



man pontiff, and connive at many of his superstitions, in so far as they are not contrary to the obligation of what truths are plainly revealed in scripture; that men have some natural ability to perform good works, which, together with faith, are a condition of our everlasting happiness. From his letters to Calvin, it appears, he thought the doctrine of consubstantiation erroneous, and almost idolatrous. While Luther lived, he, for the sake of peace, pretty much concealed his sentiments; but after his death, he made no secret of them. No doubt, Luther's dying advice encouraged him to plainness on the head of consubstantiation. These opinions, together with his profession of readiness, to comply with many things in the emperor's Interim rule of faith, which he judged indifferent; such as, justification by works as well as faith; the necessity of good works to salvation; the number of the sacraments; the jurisdiction of the pope, and his bishops; the observation of superstitious festivals, and the like, occasioned terrible contentions. Flacius Illyricus, and his party, who tenaciously adhered to the original doctrines of Luther, attacked Melancthon, and his companions, in the universities of Wittemberg and Leipzig, as apostates, with incredible fury; and were answered with equal spirit and vigour. The leading topics of their debate were, Whether what Melancthon reckoned indifferent in the Interim, was really so? Whether we ought to give up every point, indifferent in itself, to the enemies of truth? Whether good works be necessary to salvation? And whether men have natural ability to co operate with the influences of God's saving grace?—Melancthon's republication of the Augustan Confession, with some alterations of his own, also occasioned no inconsiderable strife and tumult.

The dukes of Saxe Weimar, sons of John the deposed elector of Saxony, having founded an academy

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cademy at Jena, pitched upon Illyricus, as the most eminent of the true followers of Luther, to be their theological professor. Thus advanced, he promoted the spiritual warfare, between his friends of Weimar, and the Melancthonians of Saxony, with the utmost avidity and rage. He advised the dukes, to appoint the forming of a refutation of all the errors, which had crept into the Lutheran church, especially through Melancthon, and to add it to their ecclesiastical standards. The address of the other Lutheran princes prevailed, to render this project abortive. Strigelius, who was Melancthon's disciple, and now Illyricus's colleague, maintained, that men, when influenced by the grace of God, can co-operate with the Holy Spirit, in their regeneration. Illyricus immediately accused him to the dukes, and got him cast into prison. Upon a solemn declaration of his principles, he was liberated and restored to his office. But he, perhaps, conscious that he had disguised his true sentiments, quickly after retired from Jena to Leipzig, and from thence to Heidelberg, where he died, so unfixed in sentiment, that it is hard to say, whether he was a Lutheran or a Calvinist.

In the heat of their dispute, Strigelius had craftily decoyed Illyricus to affirm, that original sin is the very substance of human nature. This absurd tenet he maintained to the last, scorning to have it said, that he mistook the meaning of *substance*; and with this, and his other furious contentions, drew no inconsiderable odium upon the Lutheran church. Even this stupid dispute spread far and wide, into these churches in Austria, and other places, which merely subsisted by a precarious toleration. Illyricus's fame for learning procured his senseless opinion not a few powerful defenders; the most considerable of which were, Spangenberg, Irenæus, and Celestine. It is indeed

shocking, to think, how this learned, laborious, and, I hope, pious divine, wilfully plagued the whole Lutheran church, and ruined his own outward peace and fortune, rather than part with the single word *substance*, though it no way related to the original contest between him and Strigelius.

Osiander, a man fond of singular novelties in religion, being obliged, by the disputes relative to the Interim, to leave Nuremberg, retired to Königsberg, in Prussia, about 1549, and was there chosen professor of divinity. He began his theological lectures, propagating a new notion concerning the image of God, and the nature of repentance. He thereafter taught, that we are justified by the essential righteousness of Christ's divine nature, which becomes ours, in consequence of his being received into our heart; and that his human righteousness cannot justify us, as he owed it for himself. It was easier to know, what he opposed, than what he maintained; as he expressed himself in ambiguous terms, and was perpetually contradicting himself. Melancthon, and his partisans, opposed him with vigour, while he was supported by several doctors of no inconsiderable merit. After his death, the controversy dwindled to nothing. In refuting Osiander, Stancar, his colleague, fell into the opposite error, maintaining, that only Christ's human nature was concerned in the satisfaction he made for us; and that he is Mediator between God and man only according to it. This exposing him to much theological, and even popular fury, he retired from Prussia to Germany, and thereafter to Poland, where he died.

It was thought, the soft temper of Melancthon, made him too negligent in quenching the flames of theological strife, which had threatened to consume the Lutheran church. After his death, in 1560, Augustus, elector of Saxony, and John William, duke of Saxe Weimar, laboured to re-establish



blish the harmony. After a number of other diversified attempts had been found ineffectual, they procured a conference between the parties at Altenburg in 1568. But the fury of the disputants, with other incidents, rendered the prospect of reconciliation as far distant as ever. It was then proposed, that a new form of doctrine should be composed by some moderate theologians, in which all the raging controversies should be determined; and that this should be added to the ecclesiastical standards. The dukes of Wirtemberg and Brunswic, the elector of Saxony, and others, appointed James Andreæ professor of Tubingen, to draw up this form. Assisted by Chemnitz, Selnecker, Andrew Musculus, Cornerus, and Chytræus, and counselled by others, he laboured to compose it with no small exactness.

Much about the same time, Peucer, the son-in-law of Melancthon, a physician of eminent learning and piety, and other adherents of Melancthon in Saxony, disliking consubstantiation, and finding, that Tinman, Westphal, Brentius, Chemnitz, and Andreæ, had begun to support it, by pretending such a communication of the properties of Christ's divine nature to his human, as renders it almighty, every where present, omniscient, and dead-quickening, resolved to exert themselves for the abolishment thereof. To effectuate this purpose, they published, in the German language, a systematic form of Christian principles, called the *Stereoma*, or *solid foundation*; and introduced into the schools a new catechism, favourable to the sentiments of Calvin. In 1571, these moderate divines, drew up a form of agreement, which was a kind of abridgment of the *Stereoma*. But the Ubiquitarians, or maintainers of the omnipresence of our Saviour's humanity, having seduced the Saxon elector to their side, caused him persecute their moderate brethren, who inclined towards the sentiments of Calvin,

Calvin, concerning the person of Christ, and the presence of his body and blood in the eucharist. To the scandal of the Lutheran church, the pious and peaceable Peucer suffered ten years of severe imprisonment, attended with innumerable scenes of distress; while multitudes of profligates strutted at liberty, and were loaded with honours.

In 1574, the Saxon elector assembled fifteen divines at Torgaw, who drew up a declaration of their sentiments, for laws to the Lutheran church, bearing, that our Saviour's body and blood were present in the eucharist, and were eaten by the mouths of the partakers. Meanwhile, the Form of concord drawn up by Andreae, and his brethren, was examined by the princes, and the chief of the clergy, and censured and rejected by several of both ranks. It was therefore further reviewed and corrected. Because it was written at Torgaw, and reviewed at Berg, it took its denomination from either of these places. In the manner of the Augustan Confession, it consisted of two parts; the former containing the sentiments of Andreae, and his five brethren who composed it; and the latter a formal condemnation of such as opposed the infinite majesty, almighty power, infinite knowledge, and omnipresence of our Saviour's manhood, or the corporeal eating of his flesh, and drinking his blood in the sacrament. No wonder, the followers of Zuinglius and Calvin heartily detested this Form of concord, as it excluded them from all religious fellowship with the Lutheran church. The great Hospinian, and others, of Switzerland, the divines of the Low Countries, and the Palatinate, and of Anhalt and Bade, declared an open war with it, in a multitude of spirited productions. Multitudes of the Lutheran doctors, particularly these of Heflia, Pomerania, Nuremberg, Holstein, Denmark, Brunswic, and Silesia, from their attachment to Melancthon, or their affection to the reformed

reformed churches, rejected it with no small indignation. Even in Saxony, multitudes beheld it with detestation.

Scarce had death freed them from their persecuting elector Augustus, in 1586, when the moderate party, supported by Crellius, prime minister of state to the elector Christian I. made an attempt to have the Form of concord quite abolished, and Calvinism introduced. Proceeding gradually to work, certain laws tending to promote their purpose were enacted; the exorcism in baptism was omitted; a new catechism, with a new translation of the Bible, illustrated with the notes of Salmuth, were introduced. At last, they proceeded to punish such as opposed their designs: but the elector dying in 1591, before they got their project established on a solid foundation, it was quickly overturned. After some years harassment, Crellius was put to death; and the moderate doctors who had joined him, were imprisoned or banished. Thus the famous Form of concord produced almost nothing but flames of contention, and cruel persecution.

Towards the end of this century, Samuel Huber, a native of Switzerland, but professor of divinity at Wittemberg, taught, that all men, without exception, were from eternity chosen to everlasting life; and branded such, as confined election to these whose faith and good works were foreseen, as inclining to the doctrine of Calvin's particular election. Perhaps, Huber's scheme differed but little from that of other Lutherans; but as he refused to adhere to the common mode of expressing this matter, he was deposed and banished. From what motives most of these Lutheran disputants acted, I dare not determine: but it is certain, their manner of spiritual warfare was generally inconsistent with equity, moderation, and charity; and corresponded



ed better with the Gothic barbarity, than with the gospel or example of Christ.

## S E C T. IV.

*The history of the Reformed churches.*

THE reformed church, as distinguished from the Lutheran, includes in it all the Protestant churches, which embraced the doctrines of Zuinglius and Calvin. It took its rise much about the same time as the Lutheran, if not before it. In 1516, Zuinglius, a canon of Zurich in Switzerland, whose extensive learning and sagacity were superior to Luther's, and were attended with the utmost intrepidity and resolution, began to explain the scriptures to his hearers; and to testify against the papal supremacy, and other of the grosser abominations of Rome. When Samson, the Italian monk, in 1519, preached up and sold Leo's indulgences in Switzerland, Zuinglie opposed him with great spirit and vigour, and was supported herein by a number of learned men, part of whom had received their education in Germany. Pope Adrian tried, by the soft methods of important promises, and the like, to recover Zuinglius to Rome; but all was in vain. Faber, afterwards bishop of Vienna, was employed to conquer him in dispute. Zuinglius stood his ground; and at the dispute of 1523, published sixty-seven propositions, all confirmed by the scripture. Meanwhile, Wolfgang, Capito, and Oecolampadius, in 1520, began the reformation at Basil; about two years after, Hofmeister introduced it into Scaphhusen; and Haller introduced it into Bern. Zuinglius published a Confession of faith, which was adopted by all the states of Switzerland, which broke off from Rome. It must be granted, that the magistrates, accord-

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ing to the temper of their nation, and the barbarity of that age, used severities in promoting the reformation, or in repressing such Anabaptists as came among them, not agreeable to the gospel; and that Zuinglius too readily approved thereof. The cantons of Zurich, Bern, Basil, Schaffhausen, with a part of the cantons of Appenzel and Glaris, having embraced the reformation, the nine Popish cantons took arms, to force them back to the Catholic church. Several battles were fought, to the disadvantage of the Zuinglians; in one of which Zuingle, to the great joy of the Papists, was killed, as he attended the troops as their minister, in the manner of his country. After multitudes had perished on both sides, a peace was made in 1531, on terms importing, that every canton should retain their own religion. Nor since have the Switzer wars, relative to religion, ever been bloody. In their synod of 1566, they agreed on their Helvetic Confession, which is still in force, few people being less fond of novelties than the Swiss. Nor are either Papists or Protestants in that country, much given to tolerate such as profess a religion different from what is publicly established.

From Switzerland, the Zuinglian doctrines spread northward into Upper Germany, by means of Bucer, Bullinger, and others. The Protestants of Strasburg, Constance, Memingen, and Lindaw, presented their Confession of faith at the imperial diet of Augsberg, in 1530. They also spread into the Palatinate of the Rhine. About 1560, Frederic elector Palatine made the Calvinist form of religion, the established one in his dominions, instead of the Lutheran, which he saw so encumbered with its doctors debates. About sixteen years after, the elector Lewis restored Lutheranism: but in 1583, John, his uncle and successor, restored Calvinism, which has since continued. Soon after,  
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Ursin published his famous catechism, for the instruction of the people; and which has been esteemed as a standard, by that and several other Protestant churches. The fame of the university of Heidelberg, procured no small credit to the reformed religion in that country, and places about. Bucer also assisted Herman of Cologne, in attempting to reform his bishopric, but without much success.

The Zuinglian reformation spread into Geneva from Bern. Bonivard, the abbot of St Victor, by his good sense, suspected it himself, and created doubts in others, concerning the Popish religion. About 1528, Farell and Saunier, secretly preached the reformed doctrine; and Antony Froment, a disciple of Farell, privately disseminated it, under the character of a schoolmaster. An intended prosecution obliged him to retire from the place. It was extremely dangerous to be suspected for a teacher of heresy; as, whenever the Genevan clergy wanted arguments to defend their system, they were ready to draw their swords, and murder their opponents. To please the Friburgers, the magistrates banished Olivetan, and such others as were most bold in preaching the truth. But the Bernese, who were also in alliance with the city, by threatening missives, deterred them from such prosecutions. In 1534, Farell and Viret, with some other Zuinglians, held a solemn disputation with the Popish doctors, which tended much to the honour of the gospel. Chappusius, a learned Dominican, and others, were convinced, and made solemn confession of the truth. After the magistrates had, for several years, had hard work to prevent mobs between the Popish and reforming parties, and to please their Popish and Protestant allies of Friburg and Bern, they, in 1536, abolished the Papal religion. Not long after, their ministers, Farell, Calvin, and Courant, were banished on account of their strictness, in refusing



to administer the sacraments to the profane, and their differing in some punctilios from the Protestant doctors of Bern. Saunier and Cordier were banished, because they would not administer the eucharist in wafers, as the Papists had done. But in 1540 they were recalled.

Calvin was a principal ornament of the Reformed, especially of the Genevan church. He was a native of France, born at Noion of Picardy, in 1509. His progress in learning was altogether uncommon. He principally applied himself to the study of law. But, by the advice of Olivetan the reforming minister, he applied himself to the study of the scripture; by means whereof, he quickly perceived the necessity of reforming the established system of doctrine and worship. When he was but twelve years of age, he was invested with a benefice in the cathedral of Noion, and had afterwards two or three other cures in the Romish church. While he served in this manner, and preached not entirely to the liking of his superiors, oftener than once his zeal brought him into danger; but Margaret queen of Navarre protected him. His suggesting to Cope, the rector of the university of Paris, that harangue which gave both clergy and parliament so much offence, obliged him to retire from France. At Basil he, in 1535, published his famed *Institutions of the Christian religion*, with a dedication to Francis his sovereign, to inform the judgment, and mitigate the rage of that furious persecutor. Happening, about a year after, to visit Farell and Viret ministers of Geneva, in his return from Italy, they prevailed upon him to labour with them in the work of the ministry; and it is said, Farell denounced an awful curse against him, if he did not. Being soon after obliged to leave Geneva, he retired to Strasburg; where, to their great satisfaction, he laboured in the work of the gospel along with

**Bucer and Capito.** At the earnest entreaty of the Genevans, he returned to their city in 1541, where he formed, from the scripture, a plan of church-government and discipline, much the same as we have established in Scotland.

Though his temper was somewhat passionate, yet by the grace of God he strangely subdued it. His life was so irreproachable, that his inveterate enemies acknowledged him without faults of the corporeal kind. He eat little, and slept little. Besides writing missives almost innumerable, and publishing commentaries upon the most of the scripture; which, together with his other works, make eight or nine folios; he is said to have given about an hundred and eighty lectures in divinity, and preached above two hundred and eighty times in the year. Though his body appears to have been of the weaker kind, he used to say, "Of all things an idle life is most irksome to me." When he was dying, his friends begged him to spare himself. He replied, "That he desired to leave the world doing good, as his Master Christ had done." He died in 1564.

The writings of Zuinglius, Bucer, and other reformers, spreading into Italy, Peter Martyr, Antony Flaminus, John Valdes, Benedict Cusanus, Bernard Achinus, afterwards inclined to Socinianism, and many others, were enlightened. A small church was founded in Naples: the marquiss of Vico, the lady Isabella Manricha, and others, were converted to Christ; but were quickly obliged to flee their country. Peter Martyr afterwards settled at Lucca, where Celsus, Martinengus, Zanchy, Tremellius, and others, were his companions; and many were converted to Christ. From 1546 to 1560, we find not a few imprisoned, burnt, or otherwise persecuted for the sake of the truth in Italy, particularly in the papal territories, and these of Ferrara and Venice, and in the kingdom of Naples.

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The terrible death of Francis Spira of Padua, an apostate from the Protestant religion, and the signal conversion of Vergerius, who, intending to refute the Protestant doctrine, to secure himself a cardinal's hat which his Holiness inclined to give him, by earnest reading of the reformers books, in order to confute them, was converted to the truth, contributed to confirm the reformed, and to damp the spirit of their persecutors. Of the Italian martyrs, Sega, Spinola, Algerio, Mollius, and Fontius were the most noted.

When the remains of the Waldenses, about Piedmont and the places around, heard of the reformation in Switzerland, they, about 1530, commenced a correspondence with Oecolampadius, Capito, Haller, and Bucer, and were thereby instructed more clearly in the truth. Morel, one of their pastors, who had visited the Swiss divines, returned in safety, but Masson his companion was taken and burnt. Their progress in the knowledge of the truth, and their lifting up their voice more freely against the abominations of Rome, drew upon them the Papaline rage. Besides a multitude of more formal prosecutions and murders, the parliament of Aix, in 1540, condemned these who had been summoned to be burnt, their wives and children to be banished, and the country of Merindol to be laid wholly waste. The execution of this sentence was partly prevented; but, in 1545, Opeda massacred about four thousand of these poor people. Some years after, particularly about 1560, and again about 1597, the duke of Savoy cruelly persecuted these of them in his dominions, while the king of France dealt in the same manner with such as lived in the marquisate of Salucces, and other places belonging to him. About 1560, the Waldenses held it unlawful to defend themselves; and abandoning all they had, fled to their rugged mountains, where they could scarce have where-



with to support them in life; nor did they take arms in their own defence, till the most barbarous cruelty, long continued, had rendered them desperate.

The remains of the Albigenses had scarce been quite extirpated in France, when, about 1520, the reformation began to take root. King Francis's encouragement of learned men, had drawn not a few of the doctors and books from Germany. The condemnation of Luther and his followers by the college of Sorbonne, had occasioned much talk and inquiry concerning his opinions: and some of the doctors began to incline towards them. Margaret, the sister of Francis, and queen of Navarre, and not a few of the nobles, and even some bishops, favoured the reformation, and detested the corruptions and tyranny of Rome. Brissonet, bishop of Meaux, protected Faber, Farell the Genevan reformer, and the two Russels or Ruffi's, who openly declared for the truth, as long as he could with his own safety. One Clark, a carder of wool at Meaux, was also instrumental in spreading the gospel, and was burnt on that account. Olivetan, a French minister of Piedmont, published a translation of the Bible in the vulgar language. While Julius Scaliger, by his learning, contributed to make the fooleries of Popery perceived, and to instigate others to inquire into truth; Robert Stephen, Francis's learned and darling printer, notwithstanding of manifold harassments from the Popish party, laboured assiduously in printing Bibles with useful notes. The singing of Marot's psalms, instead of profane ballads, in their pleasure-walks about Paris, together with the preaching of many, contributed to the spread of the gospel.

King Francis, who himself had no religion at all, persecuted or favoured the Protestants just as it conduced to promote his political interests. When he needed the assistance of the Germans against Charles

Charles the emperor, he treated the Protestants with great humanity, and resolved to invite Melancthon to France, for the pleasure of his sister Margaret, who had married Henry king of Navarre. When he had no need of their service, he cruelly persecuted them; swearing, that if he thought his own arm were tainted with the Lutheran heresy, he would cut it off; and would not spare his children, if he found them entertaining any sentiments contrary to these of the Catholic church. His Popish bigots endeavoured to persuade him, that his indulgence to heresy had drawn upon him his terrible disasters, and shameful captivity, under the power of the emperor. His tender affection for his sister preserved her life; and she protected her fellow-Protestants as much as she could. Nevertheless, we find about an hundred and ten instances of formal martyrdom in that kingdom, from 1524 to 1557; and, soon after that, of Anna Burgh, and others.

Till about 1550, the French Protestants inclined towards the Lutheran scheme. But the fame of Calvin their countryman being now so illustrious; and some having introduced into France the model of the French congregation which he had formed at Strasburg, the Genevan form of doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, was generally embraced. Joanna the heiress of the kingdom of Navarre, and Antony Bourbon, duke of Vendome, her husband, and his brother the prince of Conde, and many other nobles, having joined the reformed, they, after much struggling, obtained a general synod in 1559; in which they published their Confession of faith. About two years after, the famous conference between the Protestant and Popish doctors was held at Poiissi; in which Beza and his brethren were silenced, not with arguments, but with furious noise and disorder.

After the death of Henry, his queen befriended

the reformed; and in a letter to pope Pius IV. declared her approbation of their doctrine. But the prince of Conde urging her to fulfil her promise, in making him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and the Protestants taking some liberties with her irregular conduct, she became a most malicious persecutor. After manifold struggles in civil war, the Protestants, just when they had been brought to the brink of ruin, obtained, in 1569, a very advantageous peace, consisting of forty-six articles. The Protestants were, soon after, at their meridian height. In 1571, they had two thousand one hundred and fifty congregations; in many of which were about ten thousand members. King Charles IX. and his mother, after carrying on the most perfidious scene of dissimulation, in order to lull the Protestants asleep, almost ruined them by a most horrible massacre, in which admiral Coligni their head, and perhaps about an hundred thousand more, were basely murdered. Pope Gregory XIII. was so ravished with the news of it, that he immediately went in solemn procession to St Lewis's church, and returned the merciful Redeemer of mankind public and solemn thanks for that bloody work. The transaction too was represented at Rome in a magnificent picture, with this inscription, *The triumph of the church*. Nevertheless, the Protestants attacking their enemies with redoubled vigour, obtained an advantageous peace in 1576; the terms of which consisted of sixty-three articles, and constituted parti-chambers, or courts, in which an equal number of Protestants and Papists were judges, for the trial of pleas, wherein the reformed were concerned. Perhaps, by massacres, by civil wars, and otherwise, about a million of the Protestants had lost their lives, between 1530 and 1580. Henry of Navarre, having renounced his religion, in order to establish himself on the French throne, to which he fell heir, though extremely distant by  
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the line of succession, procured his once Protestant brethren a kind of civil establishment, by the edict of Nantz. Perhaps, it was not so much from love to them, as to promote the peace of his kingdom. Instigated by his Protestant sister, the duchess of Bar, he obliged the reluctant parliament of Paris to register it. By this edict, they had secured to them the liberties granted them by the treaty of 1576, and had free admission allowed them to every office of profit, honour, or trust; and their children had an unhampered access to the universities. Courts, called *Chambers of the edict*, were established, for judging their affairs. The chambers of Bourdeaux and Grenoble, if not also of Castres, consisted of an equal number of Catholics and Protestants; but in that of Paris, the Protestants were inferior in number.

Charles the emperor, having called some of his Spanish divines to Germany, for confuting the heretics, some of them were convinced of the truth, and carried home the light of the gospel to Spain. One Juliano conveyed thither vast numbers of Bibles, which he had got printed in Germany, and spread them among his countrymen. About eight hundred were prosecuted by the inquisition. Twenty were burnt in one fire. Juliano, Pontio, and Ferdinando, with some persons of high rank, were the most distinguished martyrs. Even in Portugal, we find some that suffered for the truth. Nay, it is affirmed, that Charles himself, disappointed of all his principal schemes, with respect to both church and state, turned a kind of Protestant, after he had resigned his empire to his brother, and his kingdom to his son. It is certain, these clergymen, who attended him in his retirement, *viz.* Casal, Pontius, and Caranza, were afterwards burnt by the inquisition, or otherwise murdered. The Protestants were so diligently hunted out, and murdered, on account of their religion, in Spain,

Spain, as well as in Italy, that scarce any vestige thereof remained till the end of the century.

The light of the gospel had not been altogether extinguished in England, when the German reformation awakened a new enquiry after the truth. King Henry VIII. had been once an absolute bigot for the Romish faith; and had, by the treatise he published against Luther, procured himself the title of *Defender of the faith*. But having lived twenty years, in proper connection, with Katherine of Arragon, his queen, and the aunt of Charles the emperor, he at last pretended to scruples, concerning the lawfulness of his marriage, as she had been formerly espoused to Arthur, his brother, though it was said, the marriage had never been consummated. Perhaps too, he was instigated by cardinal Woolsey, to whom Charles had refused the archbishopric of Toledo, the richest in Christendom, and had opposed his redoubled attempts to obtain the papal chair: nor is it improbable, that his affection for Ann of Bolein, was the principal spring of his scruples. As his Holiness had granted a dispensation for the marriage, Henry now insisted for a divorce, by the same authority. Dreading the resentment of Charles, Clement VII. by a variety of artifices, cajolled Henry, and deferred the affair. Provoked with the pontiff's slow procedure, Henry, at the advice of Cranmer, consulted the most learned universities in Europe, Whether his marriage, being within the degrees prohibited by the law of God, was lawful or not? To his great satisfaction, the most of them declared it unlawful, notwithstanding of the pope's dispensation. Henry no sooner got Katherine divorced, and Ann married, than he, in 1534, procured an act of parliament confirming to him the ecclesiastical supremacy, which he had claimed about three years before.

Having fixed himself head of the English and Irish

Irish churches, instead of the pope, whose jurisdiction he abolished, Henry took proper methods to reduce the clergy, and keep them in dread of a premunire. The monasteries were visited and suppressed, and their revenues applied to other purposes. The doctrines and ceremonies of Rome, were nevertheless mostly retained. Hence Papists and Protestants were sometimes executed together, upon one and the same day; the Papists hanged for denying Henry's ecclesiastical supremacy, and the Protestants burnt for not believing transubstantiation, or the like. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who had the principal influence over this capricious monarch, got him persuaded, to allow for a time, the reading of the English Bible to every body that pleased; and to authorize the public reading of it in churches. By this means, the knowledge of the truth, in a manner similar to that of the Lutheran church, exceedingly increased. About the same time, it made some progress in Ireland, through the labours of Brown, archbishop of Dublin, and afterwards of Bale of Ossory, and others. And there also, the monasteries were visited and suppressed. But after all, the reformation made no great figure in that country during this century; and during the reign of Henry, it stood on a very slippery foundation in England. In 1547, Edward, a most pious and intelligent youth, succeeded him. Assisted by Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley, Latimer, and others, he carried the reformation to a much greater length than his father had done. His kingdom was a sanctuary to the Protestants, whom the ruinous condition of their affairs obliged to retire from Germany. He invited to him Bucer, Martyr, and Fagius. While the grosser ceremonies were laid aside, the doctrine was reduced nearer to the sentiments of Calvin, whose fame was now spread through the whole reformed church. In 1553, Edward died, and was succeeded by Mary,



Mary, his elder sister, a bigotted Papist. During her reign, Popery was re-established: the Protestant bishops were turned out. Multitudes were burnt, or otherwise persecuted, for their adherence to the Protestant faith. After the persecution had raged about four years, the death of Mary paved Elisabeth her sister's way to the throne, in 1558. Soon after which, the reformed religion was re-established, in much the same form as at present.

Hamilton, who had been taught theology, by Lambert, the Lutheran professor at Marpurg, returning to Scotland, publicly avowed his adherence to the truth; and was burnt on that account, in 1528. When the reformation began to break up in England, the Scotch clergy did what they could to prevent its entrance among them; and thought they had reason. They had about the half of the property of the nation belonging to them; many estates held of them; and the younger sons of the best families of the nation, tenanted church-lands at easy rates. Their wealth was still increasing; whoever died intestate, was supposed to have designed all his moveables for the use of the church. They had the decision of matrimonial and testamentary causes in their hands; as they had constant access to every person, they suffered few to go out of the world without leaving some donation to the church, to make atonement for their sin, and to procure their ready access to heaven. While themselves were exempted from the civil law, they enforced their own decisions with excommunication, which, as then assisted with the secular arm, deprived men of every privilege, natural, religious, or civil. Their share of property rendered them so powerful in parliament, that almost every thing was under their direction. Their having the sole reputation for learning, procured them every high office, except these of the warlike kind. Of fifty-four Scotch chancellors, before 1500, all but eleven had been clergymen.

clergymen. The president, and one half of the lords of session, according to the original constitution, were church-men. They had so abandoned themselves to every thing horrid, that their deeds could bear no examination by the light of truth. They scarce knew or cared for any argument, besides false miracles, the authority of the church, and the decrees of councils. Dreading the fatal consequences of king James V.'s intended conference with Henry, his heretical uncle of England, they, to prevent it, instigated James to a war with him; flattered him with the prospect of enjoying the forfeited estates of such of his lords as opposed this design; and offered him a present of fifty thousand crowns to carry on the war. The Scotch army of ten or fifteen thousand, headed by Oliver Sinclair, but quite unwilling to fight, surrendered themselves to five hundred Englishmen; who, having their choice of their prisoners, carried off about two hundred persons of quality, and eight hundred besides. Their captivity contributed to their receiving the knowledge of the truth, which, at their return, they brought home with them. This shameful defeat drew upon the clergy, who had occasioned it, the general resentment of the nation. The nobles envy of their grandeur and power, their hopes to recover the possessions which had been unjustly alienated from their ancestors, or even to seize upon other parts of the ecclesiastical property, and to shake off the clerical yoke, tempted many of them to wish for a reformation.

When king James died in 1542, cardinal Beaton, by a forged testament, got himself declared regent during the minority of Mary the princess: but Hamilton, earl of Arran, instigated by the other nobles, seized on the regency, as nearest of blood to the infant-queen. For a time, he favoured the Protestant religion, and the friendship of England,

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But Beaton seduced him to the opposite side. The earl of Lennox, who was equally near to the crown, from political views, became the protector of the Protestants, and a promoter of the marriage of Mary with Edward of England. James Stewart, bastard brother of the young queen, and now prior of St Andrews, and afterwards successively earl of Mar and Murray, earnestly promoted the reformation of the church. The queen Mary dowager, for the promoting of her own authority as regent, favoured the Protestant party. The Marian persecution in England obliged multitudes to flee their country, which tended to the spread of the gospel in Scotland.

From 1528 to 1558, notwithstanding of grievous harassments, and the burning of severals, of whom Mr Wishart, who suffered in 1546, was the most noted, the Protestants had never been guilty of one single tumult. The burning of Walter Mill, an aged priest, and the prosecution of some others, roused them not a little in 1559. Instigated by the queen regent, they dropped their intended application to the parliament; and without success, as might have been foreseen, made one to the convocation of the clergy. The Guises having almost the whole government of France now in their hands, projected to dethrone Elisabeth, and place Mary of Scotland, spouse to Francis II. of France, on her throne. Francis and Mary assumed the titles of king and queen of England. As it could not be expected the Scotch Protestants would concur in the destruction of Elisabeth, their powerful protector, the queen regent resolved to destroy them, and introduce the French forces into Scotland, and thence make an invasion upon England. Argyle, the most powerful, and James Stewart, the most popular, and other Protestant chiefs, were marked out, to be the first sacrifice. Openly avowing her intentions of extirpating the reformed religion,

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she approved the decrees of the late convocation against it; ordered all her subjects to observe the approaching Easter in the papal manner; and summoned all the Protestant preachers before the high court of justice at Stirling. Their friends, in the manner of that age, attended them to their trial in such multitudes, that the queen-regent was glad to propose a pacification, upon condition they should come no nearer Stirling. They were scarce returned, when they were called in court; and not compearing, were declared *outlaws*. Provoked with this perfidious conduct, the reformers, in their meeting at Perth, resolved to defend themselves. Knox, just returned from Geneva, preached to the assembly a most vehement harangue against idolatry. He had scarce finished his sermon, when a priest, in contempt thereof, prepared to celebrate the mass. This, with some other indiscretions, provoked the mob to fall with irresistible fury upon the churches: they overturned the altars; defaced the pictures; broke in pieces the images; and proceeding to the monasteries, laid them almost level with the ground.

The Protestant chiefs, and the preachers, condemned this tumultuous procedure; but the infuriated queen marched her army to Perth, to wreck her vengeance upon them, while, depending on her own treaty, they had dismissed their bands. Finding their numbers greater than she expected, she procured another treaty with them; in which it was agreed, that both armies should be disbanded; that she should be admitted into Perth, but none of her French troops come within three miles of it. After renewing their covenant, to assist one another in defence of their religion and liberty, the Protestant lords dismissed their troops; the queen immediately introduced her French forces into Perth; fined or banished many of the inhabitants; removed the magistrates from office; and

left in the place a garrison of Scotch troops, paid by the French king. After a variety of conflicts, the Protestants, and even some Papists, provoked with her frequent violation of treaties, and perceiving, that by the direction of her Guisian brothers, she intended to subject the kingdom to France, they deprived her of her regency, as an enemy to the civil liberties of the nation. It is amazing, that, during these commotions, scarce one of the pontifical clergy received the least mark of violence from the Reformers. The Protestant lords, assisted by all the lovers of liberty, and by Elisabeth of England, obtained very favourable articles in the treaty between England and France. After the death of the queen-regent, a parliament was held in August 1560. The silence of the clerical members encouraged the Protestants, and they obtained an act condemning the Popish doctrines, and ratifying the Confession of Faith, just composed by Knox; a second, abolishing the ecclesiastical courts, and transferring much of their business to the civil judges; and a third, prohibiting the exercise of the Romish worship, under pain of forfeiture, banishment, or death. As it was thought, this parliament had exceeded their powers granted by a preceding treaty of Edinburgh, if not the powers belonging to subjects according to the Scotch law, it was hardly to be expected, Francis and Mary should be ready to confirm their acts. Soon after, the convention of estates made an act for destroying the reliques of Popery.

Terrible dilapidation of the ecclesiastical wealth ensued. Such abbots as turned Protestant, seized for themselves the most of what pertained to their monasteries. Such dignified clergy as had two thirds of their revenues continued, disposed thereof to their bastards, for whom acts of legitimation were often procured; or disposed of them to their friends, in perpetual leases, at an easy rate. The nobles,

nobles, intent on humbling the crown and the clergy, seized on whatever they could. Hence the first book of discipline could never obtain a ratification in council or parliament, though many of the nobles and gentry subscribed it in a private capacity. Scarce two thousand pounds Sterling was, some years after, allowed for the maintenance of the Protestant clergy, to be paid by the king, out of his share of the church's patrimony. Notwithstanding of its gradual increase, many clergymen, in the end of the century, had but eleven pounds, and others but the half. What was assigned them, was often miserably paid; so that for forty years, they and their families were frequently almost starved. In this manner did our ancestors, who had allowed the Popish messengers of Satan the half of their wealth, treat the laborious servants of Christ. Undaunted with hunger and nakedness, the reformed clergy went on with their work. Uninfluenced by king or princes, they entirely rejected the Romish hierarchy and worship, and formed from the scripture, a plan more pure than took place at Geneva itself. For almost forty years, they held two general assemblies in each. As their number was at first small, and many of them weak in literature, they appointed ten or twelve superintendants to travel about, preaching every where in the bounds assigned them, and inspecting the rest. Their power of this kind was extended only to the next assembly, to which they were to give account of their conduct. They also appointed some to read the scriptures, as a temporary means of spreading the light of the gospel.

When, after the death of her husband in 1560, queen Mary returned from France, she pretended great regard to the reformed; declared all attempts to subvert their religion to be a capital crime; and committed the administration of affairs entirely to Protestants, of whom James Stuart her brother,



and Maitland of Lethington, were her chief favourites. She had no sooner fixed herself in the affection of her subjects, than she declared herself a bigotted Papist, and would not so much as hear a Protestant preacher. The declamations of the preachers against her, and against the lukewarmness of her courtiers, the mob's interrupting the mass in her chapel when she was absent, with her constant refusal to ratify the reforming acts of the parliament 1560, and her labouring to seduce the nobles and others to Popery, occasioned no small commotions. Not content with having almost starved the Protestant clergy, by withholding their pitiful subsistence, she, in 1566, entered into a league with Charles IX. of France, to extirpate the Protestant religion. She altered her conduct with respect to her brother, now earl of Murray, and his party who had fled into England; prepared to attain them of treason; and took some steps towards the re-establishment of Popery, as the national religion. At last, her marriage with Bothwell, who, probably by her consent, had murdered king Henry her husband, issued in the total loss of her authority, and her flight into England, where, after twenty years imprisonment, she was basely put to death by Elisabeth's orders.

James VI. her infant son, being enthroned in 1567, his first parliament established the Protestant religion, as had been done in 1560; and enacted, that every king, at his coronation, should swear to maintain it. A civil war of about seven years continuance, between the king's adherents and those of his mother, ensued, that involved the kingdom in the utmost confusion. Sometimes the prisoners on both sides were barbarously hanged. When Morton, who was the fourth and the worst of the regents, began to find himself in power, he, in a convention of the privy council, and some of the leading clergy, got it enacted, to allow a kind of

bishops

bishops in the church, till the time of the king's majority. By ways and means, the assembly 1572, was persuaded to consent hereto, rather than provoke the nobles to overturn their establishment. But they circumscribed the election of these ecclesiastical dignitaries, and subjected their whole power to their semiannual general assembly. Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and a bishop of Dunkeld, were immediately constituted. But Morton, and his fellow nobles, took care to have a large share of their revenues. Having depressed the queen's party, Morton terribly oppressed the people, and especially the clergy. By promises to assign them stipends in their respective parishes, he extorted from them their rights to the thirds of the benefices, and often caused one minister serve four or five parishes, while himself took all the stipends but one.

After no small struggling, the second book of discipline was finished; and the assembly declared, that no standing officer of the church, higher than a teaching presbyter, is warranted in scripture. About 1580, James having taken the government of the nation into his own hands, but really under the direction of Stuart of Aubigne, his father's cousin, now made earl of Lennox, or Stuart of Ochiltree, now made earl of Arran. Both, for different ends, professed great zeal for the Protestant religion; Lennox, to mark the truth of his conversion from Popery, and the profligate Arran, to ruin Lennox, his rival favourite. To avert the danger of Popish conspiracies, when leagues were forming abroad, for the utter extirpation of the Protestant race, James caused the national covenant to be drawn up, and he and his council subscribed it; and it was enacted by both church and state, that all the subjects should do the same. Several acts were made in favours of the church; and a plan of fifty presbyteries was sent by James, and his coun-

eil, to the assembly. It was not long after, when their zeal to put down the few bishops, provoked the court against the clergy. The nobles taking of the king from under the government of Arran, procured them a temporary relief; and had not Adamson, archbishop of St Andrews, perplexed them with his craft, he, and his episcopal brethren, had been excommunicated. But no sooner had James, by treacherous perfidy, got rid of these nobles, Gowry, who alone submitted, being beheaded, and the rest fled into England, than he, in the parliament 1584, almost overturned their settlement. The king's supremacy in all causes was asserted. The refusing to acknowledge the privy council, or pretending to exempt from civil authority, things purely ecclesiastical; the attempting to diminish the rights and privileges of the bishops, who were one estate in parliament, were declared to be high treason. The holding of assemblies ecclesiastical or civil, without the king's permission or appointment; and the uttering from the pulpit, or otherwise, any false or scandalous reports, against the king, or his ancestors, or ministers, were pronounced capital crimes. All the clergy were commanded, under pain of losing their stipend, within forty days, solemnly to promise an observance of these statutes, and a submission to their diocesan bishop. In consequence hereof, the faithful part of the clergy were either persecuted at home, or fled into England. The best of the nobles and ministers, and, in a great measure, religion itself, was driven out of the land.

Next year, the exiles, assisted by Elisabeth, returned from England with an armed force; and Arran was justly tumbled down to his mean original. The nobles having recovered their own privileges, neglected these of the church. With some difficulty, James got the general assembly to permit the continuance of bishops; and not without great



great retrenchment of their power. The excommunication of Adamson by the synod of Fife, was declared null and void. Next year, all laws made in favours of the reformed religion, were confirmed and ratified. A severe law was made against the Jesuites and trafficking priests, who began to swarm in the kingdom. The public revenues not being able to defray his majesty's ordinary expence, the church-lands which had not been disposed of by permanent claims, were annexed to the crown; and the tithes alone, with a house and glebe, were reserved for the maintenance of the clergy. This was a fatal stroke to the power of the bishops, whom almost every body now hated. Instigated by the Romish missionaries and king of Spain, Huntly, Errol, Crawford, and Maxwell, Popish lords, with the earl of Bothwell, the king's cousin, who afterwards became a Papist, conspired against the king. This, together with the alarm which the Spanish armada in 1588 had but lately given, occasioned a general awakening over the nation. The national covenant was renewed, with an additional bond suited to the times. The rebels were taken: but a short confinement was all the punishment that James would permit to be inflicted upon them. New plots, and repeated rebellions, and the murder of the earl of Murray by Huntly, were the sole marks of their gratitude.

The care of the Presbyterian clergy having preserved the nation in the utmost peace and order, while James brought his queen from Denmark, he, in their general assembly, passed the highest encomiums upon the form of their government and worship, as far superior to these of any other Protestant church; and promised to procure them a parliamentary ratification thereof, and of all their ecclesiastical privileges; and to purge the land from Jesuites; and provide a suitable subsistence for the ministry. This, together with archbishop Adamson's

Adamson's death-bed submission to his excommunication, and earnest entreaty to have it relaxed, mightily encouraged the clergy. They ordered their second book of discipline to be subscribed by every one admitted into the pastoral office. In 1592, the parliament, in a plain and copious manner, established Presbyterian government; rescinded or explained the Erastian acts of the parliament 1584; but allowed of the continuance of patronage; and granted to the sovereign more power in calling of the general assembly, than had been formerly exercised. Perhaps James, to gain the favour of the clergy, when his lenity to the Popish lords, and his evident aversion to avenge the murder of the earl of Murray, had lost him the hearts of his people; and when Bothwel the rebel was secretly supported by all the enemies of chancellor Maitland, was prompted to this step. It is certain, he immediately after began to exert himself for the introduction of Prelacy: and, had not his fear of losing the English crown dissuaded, it is probable, his correspondence with the pope, about the end of the century, had issued in his reconciliation to Rome. The clerical appointment of a standing committee, to take care of the church in her critical circumstances, their refusal to relax the excommunication of the Popish lords, without some apparent repentance; their taking the part of David Black, in his refusal to have his doctrine judged by the privy council; with a mob raised by some courtiers at Edinburgh, and charged to the ministers account, alienated James from the Presbyterians. By flattery, by presents, by promises of larger stipends to the indigent, by perplexing questions, and by packed assemblies, and the like, he laboured in overturning their church. The bulk of the clergy agreed to part with several of their privileges; to absolve the Popish lords; to admit fifty-one of their number to represent them in parliament,

liament, officiate as constant moderators in presbyteries or synods; and, in fine, some of them, in the next century, to commence episcopal lords.

In the Netherlands, the light of the gospel made considerable progress, by the labours of both the Lutheran preachers and the Reformed. The labours of the infuriated or fantastical Anabaptists, to spread their whims along with it, no doubt retarded its success. Moreover, the Spaniards here, as at home, by the terrors of the inquisition, and persecution of different forms, obliged multitudes to renounce the Protestant religion, or lose their liberty and life. During the government of Charles V. about fifty thousand were murdered on the score of religion. After his death, thirty-six thousand are said to have been murdered in six years, or as others, an hundred thousand in fifteen. It is moreover affirmed, that five or six hundred thousand fled their native country, and dispersed themselves through Germany, Switzerland, England, and other places. The greatest part of the Netherlands, after infinite strugglings with the Spanish power and cruelty, fainted, and submitted to the continuance of Popery.

It was otherwise with the northern part of the country, now called the *United Provinces*, or *Holland*. After about thirty-five years gradual receiving of the truth, they, in 1561, published their Confession of faith; and about five years after, in 1566, entirely rejected the papal and Spanish yoke. While they continued subject to Spain, they called themselves, the *Associates of the brethren of the Augustan Confession*, as the Spaniards reckoned the Lutherans better subjects than the Hugonots in France. After throwing off the Spanish yoke, the Dutch for a time hesitated between the Lutheran and Calvinist principles; but at last, in 1571, declared themselves for the latter. The war they had commenced with the Spaniards for the  
fake



fake of their religion and liberty, did not properly end till 1648, after it had lasted, though with some intermissions, about eighty years.

In Bohemia, the remains of the Taborites were more inclined to the doctrines, worship, and government of the Reformed church; but the reliques of the Calixtines inclined rather to the Lutheran. Both parties, by Christian missives, and otherwise, encouraged that people in the work of the Lord. By means of Lewis and Ferdinand their kings, and their agents, multitudes of them, especially about 1523, 1535, 1547, and 1549, suffered death, banishment, or other persecution; but the emperors Maximilian and Rodolf, being of an humane and gentle disposition, they increased under their reigns; and, in the end of the century, made a considerable figure among the Protestant churches.

Many of the followers of Hufs had, in the former century, spread themselves into Poland. Hence, in 1500, the nobles of Higher Poland demanded the use of the cup in the eucharist for the people. As early as 1523, sundry Lutheran and Zuinglian preachers spread the gospel in that kingdom. Nor was king Sigismund, though instigated by the pope, very zealous against them. About 1548, sundry of the Bohemian brethren, when persecuted at home, fled thither, and preached the gospel. Sigismund still winked at them. Lisma-nin, who afterwards became a Socinian, Stancar, and Cruciger, were the first reformers of Lower Poland. In 1555, the Bohemians and Zuinglians commenced their union into one body, in the synods of Chrencick and Gulochow, and finished it in that of Cosininiek. These had no sooner coalesced into one, than they laboured to procure an union with the Lutherans. Articles of confederacy were formed and agreed upon, at Sendomir in 1570, and ratified in the general synods of

Cracow,

Cracow, in 1573 and 1576; and of Thorn, in 1595. But the Lutherans were too bigotted to pay much regard to the agreement. As several of the bishops favoured the reformed, Sigismund II. who, to please the Papists, sometimes issued forth severe edicts against them, which he took care never to execute, had less difficulty in procuring them various privileges; which, after his death, were established by the general diet of the kingdom, and solemnly confirmed by king Henry in 1574. After the death of Melancthon, the reformed gained ground in Prussia; and there founded a number of flourishing churches, which continue to this day.

Some Waldenses and Hussites had carried the lamp of the gospel into Hungary and Transylvania. By the writings of Luther, which were eagerly sought for and read, and by the labours of Cyriac, and others of his followers, multitudes were converted from the errors of Rome. Matthias Devay, and others, introduced the doctrines of Zuinglius and Calvin. About 1550, Szegedin, and other Calvinists, propagated them in a still more open manner. Hereupon the Lutherans kindled flames of contentions, that are not quenched to this day. Lewis king of Hungary and Bohemia, and a furious persecutor, with many of the Popish bishops, being cut off in the fatal battle of Mohatz or Mobacz, in 1526; Mary queen-dowager, whom her brother the emperor, in 1530, sent to govern the Low-Countries, relished the reformation; and most of the nobles, from a covetous desire of the episcopal wealth, joined in it. The Protestant preachers had remarkable success. In 1546, the Lutherans, in their synod, adhered to the Confession of Augsburg; and the Reformed, in 1566, solemnly admitted the Helvetic, as their ecclesiastical standard of faith. The Transylvanians, in 1562, published a Confession of their own.

In

In consequence of the imposition of the Torgaw *Form of Concord*, the churches of Nassaw, Hanaw, Ifanburg, Anhault, and other places in Germany, deserted the Lutheran communion, and joined the Reformed, as the Palatinate had done before. About 1556, Hardenberg, an admirer of Melancthon, attempted to introduce Calvinism into the church of Bremen. He was banished on that account : but towards the conclusion of the century, that church became one of the Reformed. About the same time the great Hemmingius, and other disciples of Melancthon, thought to introduce the reformed religion into Denmark ; but the Lutheran party, seconded by Christiern IV. disconcerted their plan, and frustrated their endeavours.

In several respects the reformed churches differed from the Lutheran. The Lutherans maintained, That our Saviour's body and blood are corporally present in, with, and under the bread and wine, in the sacrament of the supper, and are corporally received by every communicant. The Reformed insisted, That these elements are only signs and symbols, whereby his body and blood are represented, sealed, and applied to believers. But their divines were not uniform in their explications of this tenet. The Lutherans insisted, That God's decree relative to mens everlasting state, is founded upon his foresight of, and regard to their personal qualities, sentiments, and conduct. The Reformed maintained, That though God's decree fixes an inseparable connection between the means and end, between final unbelief and everlasting punishment, between present holiness and future happiness, in the execution thereof ; yet the decree itself is founded on his own wise and independent will. The Lutherans retained images in churches for instruction of the people, exorcisms in baptism, and many other rites ; which the Reformed generally condemn.

The



The plan of doctrine and discipline introduced by Zuinglius was altered to the better, by Calvin, in several respects. Zuinglius allowed the magistrate a spiritual supremacy in the church, and of a difference of order or rank, though not of office, among Christian pastors. Calvin maintained, that that the church is a body of herself, in nature and form distinct from and independent on the state, and which ought to be governed by her elders teaching and ruling, in her own courts; such as, presbyteries and synods, properly subordinated, and subject only to Christ, as her supreme Head: and he allowed the magistrate little more than a power to provide for what relates to her outward concerns. Zuinglius thought the sacramental elements were but naked signs; and that a pious remembrance of Christ's sufferings, and a solemn profession of our faith in him, is the whole work required in communicating. Calvin acknowledged a real but spiritual presence of Christ in the elements; so that all the believing communicants become truly partakers of Christ's body, blood, and benefits. Hence some thought his doctrine differed but little from that of Luther; though it is certain, it differed widely from that established in the Lutheran church. It doth not appear, that Zuinglius, any more than Luther, taught any thing concerning the absolute nature of predestination. Calvin zealously maintained, that God, of his mere good pleasure, predestinated some angels and men to everlasting happiness, to the praise of the glory of his goodness and grace; and others to eternal misery, to be for their sin inflicted, to the praise of the glory of his justice. The introduction of this tenet met with no small opposition in Switzerland. Calvin also revived the scripture-discipline of the church, which Zuinglius had neglected; and with no small trouble, restored excommunication of the obstinate, and suspension

of the scandalous and profane from the sacraments, to its due vigour.

The doctrines of Calvin relative to the eucharist, the decrees of God, the natural inability of men to perform what is spiritually good, Christ's dying for particular persons, the omnipotence of God's saving influences in effectual calling, and the unfailing perseverance of the saints in their gracious state and nature, were adopted by all the Reformed churches of Germany, Switzerland, France, Britain, Ireland, Holland, Poland, Hungary, &c. as is evident from their ecclesiastical Confessions, and their approved systems of divinity, in that period. But it is now become too fashionable for the Reformed clergy, perfidiously to profess their solemn adherence to, or to subscribe these Confessions, at their licence, ordination, or otherwise; while they believe, and, as they have opportunity, teach the reverse of the doctrine therein contained, on the above topics.

The form of worship in the Reformed churches was not uniform in every point. Most of them retained the observance of some superstitious seasons, and other dregs of the Romish cup. The Episcopalians of England and Ireland were peculiarly addicted to such superstition. Their manner of worship was so similar to the Roman, that pope Pius offered to Elisabeth to ratify it, if she would but acknowledge herself and her kingdom to be his spiritual subjects. While the Episcopalians kneel at the Lord's table, the French Protestants stand; and the other Reformed sit, as Christ and his disciples did. In government, the Episcopalians almost entirely resemble the Papists; only the King sustains the place of his Holiness; and they have scarce any discipline at all. In all the other Reformed churches, the Presbyterian government and discipline were adopted; but most of the foreigners, especially the Swiss, allowed the magistrates so much power, that the exercise of discipline was too often either stopped, or rendered ineffectual.

effectual. The Scotch mode of worship, and form of discipline and government, was more pure and scriptural than that of Geneva itself, which was a kind of pattern to the rest.

The extensive fame of Calvin, and his companions, for learning; his establishment of a famous academy at Geneva, which drew thither students from every quarter, who, on their return, carried home with them the knowledge of and a relish for his plan of doctrine, worship, discipline, and government; together with the scriptural and rational manner in which he, and Beza his successor, in teaching theology, explained their sentiments, appear to have had a powerful influence in so many churches adopting the Calvinian model. It is easy to see, that many of the Reformed churches were furnished with better means to repress their unruly members than the Lutheran. It is certain, the gospel, especially in the first spread thereof, had a remarkable influence in enlightening the minds, reforming the lives, and warming the hearts of multitudes.

Almost all the Reformed doctors of note, were zealous promoters of learning; and had been more so, had not the rage of many disputes with the Papists and Lutherans, and sometimes among themselves, exhausted much of their time and spirits. Zuinglius, indeed, had no high esteem of philosophy; but he had few followers on that topic: and perhaps it was merely the pitiful philosophy of his own times that he undervalued. Professors of philosophy were established at Geneva, and in the other academies belonging to the Reformed. But the system of Aristotle was almost all they taught; except that some doctors of Basil preferred the notions of Ramus. The knowledge of languages was cultivated to such a degree, that Buchanan, Calvin, Beza, and others, wrote Latin equal to that of the Augustan age. Zuinglius, Bullinger, Oecolampadius, Musculus,



culus, but especially Mercer, Calvin, Beza, Junius, and others, published commentaries on the scripture, of considerable merit. Zuinglius wrote a kind of theological system, concerning *true and false religion*. But Calvin's *Institutions*, so oft revised by himself, held the same place among the Reformed, as Melancthon's *Common places* did among the Lutherans. Vast numbers followed his example in forming systems; but these of Musculus, Martyr, Piscator, Paræus, and Junius, were the most noted. The various Confessions of the Reformed churches in Switzerland, France, England, Scotland, Holland, with the Palatine Catechism, and others, may also be considered as abbreviated systems. The Reformed divines were so busied in the spiritual warfare, that except what we have in Perkins, Teling, and some few others, we have no valuable exhibition of moral theology in this period. It is to be regretted, that towards the end of the century, the Jesuites had got the Reformed doctors decoyed from the simplicity of Zuinglius and Calvin, to follow them, in their disputes, through the bewildering wilds and senseless subtleties of Aristotle, and the schoolmen.

The Reformed divines laboured with no small ardour to establish an union with the Lutheran church: but the doctors thereof, Melancthon and his disciples excepted, were generally too bigotted to encourage the least hopes of it. Many of them considered the Reformed as worse than the Papists, and hence shifted their alliance, when they courted that of the French king. The conference at Marburg, in 1529, rather covered than extinguished the flame of contention between them. After the death of Zuinglius in 1531, Bucer of Strasburg, a man excessively addicted to peace and harmony, laboured for several years, at Wittemberg, and other places,

places, to promote this union. Though he preferred the Zuinglian doctrine, yet he persuaded a great part of the divines in Upper or South Germany, to submit to the Lutheran communion; and a kind of union was agreed upon in the conference at Wittemberg in 1536. Even the Swiss divines, who were more steady than Bucer, were soon after upon the point of uniting, had not Luther, instigated, it seems, by Amsdor, published his Confession of faith, in which he declared so expressly against the doctrine of Zuinglius, as to put an end to all hopes of reconciliation.

After the death of Luther, who was too liberal of his virulent abuse, for the work of healing of breaches, Melancthon and Calvin, two dear and intimate friends, applied themselves to forward the union; and Calvin's explication of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, bid fair to encourage it, especially as he had brought the divines of Zurich into his views. But Melancthon, whose courage at any time was unequal to arduous undertakings, was at this very time persecuted with all the virulent rage of tongues and pens, by his bigotted brethren. Meanwhile, Westphal pastor of Hamburg, in 1552, assaulted, with fury almost infernal, the act of agreement between the churches of Geneva and Switzerland, relative to the doctrine of the eucharist. Calvin answered him with too much warmth, though he concealed his name. Both had their defenders; and so the breach was widened. Calvin's opinion concerning the absoluteness of the divine decrees, was improved as an additional ground of difference; and to this day, the Lutherans horridly misrepresent and reproach the Reformers on this head. This part of the dispute was opened by the great Zanchy, a learned Italian, professor of divinity at Strasburg, and addicted to the opinions of Calvin, in 1560; and thereafter carried on with great warmth, and sometimes with irreverent

and barbarous rage, by the disputants on either side. Zanchy, who greatly disliked theological strife, after suffering no small persecution, retired from Strasburg.

After the death of Melancthon, his disciples laboured to promote an union with the Reformed; and for that end, represented the opinions of the Swiss doctors on the points of difference, as tolerable, if not true. This drew upon them a persecution from their bigotted brethren, especially in Saxony; and occasioned the imposition of the *Torgaw Form of Concord*, which still stands as a fixed bar in the way of any proper union. The difference relative to the presence of our Saviour's body and blood in the eucharist, opened a large field of controversy relative to the communication of the properties of his divine nature to his human; and concerning the nature and use of the sacraments. That relative to the decrees of God, opened a large field of debate relative to human liberty, divine foreknowledge, fate and necessity, the extent of God's love to mankind, the benefits arising from Christ's mediation, the influence of God's grace upon mens hearts, the perseverance of the saints, &c. The difference relative to rites of worship, occasioned not a few disputes concerning things indifferent, and the lawfulness of yielding to the adversaries of truth therein, the extent of Christian liberty in the worship and service of God, and the retaining of that which has the appearance of superstition.

The Reformed church was also plagued with internal disputes, though not so much as their Lutheran neighbours. In Geneva, Calvin was troubled with a set of *Libertines*, much the same as our Deists. They, at least Gruet their chief, denied the divinity of the Christian religion, the immortality of the soul, and the difference between good and evil; and rejected with disdain the peculiar doctrines



trines of the gospel: on account whereof, he was condemned to death by the magistrates, in 1550. But these deserve not to be reckoned among Christians. Castalio, a teacher of the public school at Geneva, in the most abusive manner, railed at Calvin's doctrine of the divine decrees; and on that account was deposed from his office. The magistrates of Basil received him, and made him their professor of Greek. Bolsec, a French monk and physician, who pretended to come to Geneva for the sake of religion, in 1551, after public worship, railed before the assembly, in the most virulent manner, at the doctrine of absolute predestination; and on that account was cast into prison. This drew upon Calvin the resentment of James Bourgoigne, a great man, into whose favour Bolsec had mightily insinuated himself. Nor is it to be wondered, that Castalio and Bolsec loaded him with the vilest reproaches.

About the same time, Pockefius, Ruffus, Quintin, and others, who, I suppose, were either German Anabaptists, or the remains of the society of the *Free Spirit*, formed a sect called the *Libertines*, or the *Spiritual Brethren and Sisters*. They spread themselves into several of the Reformed churches; and in France were protected by the queen of Navarre. It is said, they maintained God to be the sole operating cause in the human mind, and the immediate author of all human actions; that men could not therefore properly sin; that religion consists in union with God; that all who obtain this, by intense meditation, may indulge themselves in their natural inclinations as they please, &c. But it is to be remembered, that this account comes from the hand of their enemies.

In Holland, England, Palatinate, and some other places, it occasioned no small debate, whether the governing power of the church be lodged by Christ, in her own officers and courts, as his spiritual kingdom;

kingdom; or whether the civil magistrate has the right of modelling her external government and discipline. Edward, and especially Henry and Elizabeth, pretended to rule over the English and Irish churches, as their head, in place of the pontiff; and to this day, the British sovereign has the same supreme power in the Episcopal churches, and is as much head of the two houses of the clerical convocation, as of the houses of parliament. Nor have the chief magistrates of Switzerland, Palatinate, Holland, and some other places, seemed unambitious of a similar power. To deprive that church of the power of excommunication, and perhaps, to justify the princes frequent changing of the religion of that country, Erastus, a physician of Heidelberg, and others, towards the end of the century, strenuously contended, that all the governing power of the church is lodged in the hand of the supreme magistrate; and that she has no power of discipline, but all is vested in the sovereign. The Scotch clergy, as has been evinced, spent the latter part of the century, in almost perpetual struggles against the entrance of diocesan Episcopacy, and the Erastian power of the king over the church.

Meanwhile, there were violent contests in England, concerning the modes of worship, and the form of church-government. During the Marian persecution, not a few of the English preachers had been obliged to flee their country. The Lutherans denied them any refuge, because of their difference in opinion. The Swiss, and others of the Reformed, kindly admitted them. The view of the manner of worship at Geneva, and other places, convinced many of them, of the impropriety of several of the English ceremonies, retained under Edward. Even in their exile, Cox, and his partisans, adhered as tenaciously to these reliques of Roman superstition, as if the whole substance of religion

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religion had consisted therein. At Frankfort, they, in the most unchristian, and even villanous manner, persecuted Knox, Goodman, and others, for their nonconformity; and got some of them driven from the place. When these exiles returned home, after Mary's death, they found Elisabeth her successor bent upon maintaining as much of the Romish superstition, as could consist with a Protestant name; and even to bring the English worship nearer to the Roman, than it had been under Edward her brother. She had a passionate fondness for images, and retained them in her private chapel. She thanked her chaplain, who preached in defence of the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament; and ordered her bishops to strike out of the liturgy of Edward, whatever appeared contrary thereto, or that might offend the pope, or hinder the Papists from cordial joining. She had almost prohibited clerical marriages. In fine, she delighted in the gaudy pomp of worship, relative to vestments, and other rites, and in obliging mens consciences, that were tender, to crouch under the weight of her spiritual supremacy.

Such as relished a more simple and scriptural manner of serving God, and who began to be called *Puritans*, in a way of contempt, were grieved to see so much of the dregs of Popery retained; while the Papalins rejoiced thereat, as a happy token of the nation's future return to the Catholic church. Some of them earnestly desired to have both worship and government modelled in the Genevan manner. But the greater part would have been glad to be freed from an approbation, of what they judged, either simply, or circumstantially sinful; as the wearing of the papal vestments, when officiating in the public worship of God; and begged to be indulged on this head. But though about four fifths of the people were wholly destitute of pastors,



pastors, and the most part of the kingdom was perishing in Heathen ignorance and immorality, Elizabeth, and her assistant bishops, particularly Parker and Whitgift, did not regard the eternal damnation of millions, so much as the loss of a Romish trifle, or the appearance of yielding to a scrupulous conscience. About a third part of the preachers in England, and these generally the best, were silenced, and otherwise persecuted, because they professed their dislike of archdeacons, deans, canons, instrumental music in divine worship, observance of holy-days dedicated to saints, lay-baptism, use of the cross, and of godfathers and godmothers in baptism, kneeling in receiving of the eucharist, bowing at the mention of the name Jesus, marriage by the symbolical ring, public reading of the Apocrypha, instead of the word of God; and for scrupling to wear surplices, cornered caps, and the like, when officiating in public worship. Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, were condemned and executed, though they testified their loyalty to the last. They suffered in a pious and Christian manner. To the honour of archbishop Grindal, bishop Jewel, and some others, it must be recorded, that they detested such unchristian persecution.

Many, at least of these Puritans, could not persuade themselves, that bishops are, by the authority of Christ, superior in office to ordinary pastors. But as the English parliament considered the bishops, as merely of human institution, and mere creatures of the sovereign, whom he might set up or pull down, as he pleased, there was little controversy on this head, till about 1588, when Bancroft, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, dared to maintain, that, by Christ's authority, bishops are superior in office to presbyters; and in consequence hereof, to maintain, that presbyters can have no regular ordination but by a bishop; and that such as are otherwise ordained, are inferior to  
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Romish priests, and less proper administrators in the worship of God. When such impertinent stuff was in vogue, and when, while no small lenity was exercised towards the Papists, and even trafficking priests, pious and learned preachers were deprived, silenced, banished, imprisoned, or hanged, for opposing Romish trifles; no wonder some, as the Brownists, separated from the English church, as, in their view, a limb of Antichrist. Elisabeth, and her bishops, thought the inquisition too infamous to be introduced into England: but she erected a similar judicature, by the name of the *High Commission*, which, by torture, obliged men to confess what they pleased, and fined and imprisoned them at discretion. Beza, and others of the Reformed divines abroad, partially informed by Elisabeth's creatures, and strongly inclined to ecclesiastical union, in some missives, represented the above-mentioned reliques of superstition, as an insufficient reason of mens depriving the church of their labours. Such fraudulently procured, or soft expressions, were improved by the queen, and her bishops, as an encouragement to persecute the scruplers, who were otherwise minded.

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S E C T. I.

*The history of the eastern churches.*

**T**HE Greek church continued in much the same wretched condition, as in the preceding period. Though some who traded with the Europeans, or who filled honourable posts in the Ottoman court, were men of genius; and though, it seems, one Monolax had founded an academy of learning at Constantinople, yet the bulk of the Greeks were sunk in gross ignorance. They still retained their implacable hatred of the Romish church; and none hated her more heartily, than these who had been liberally educated at Rome. The Papists founded a few wretched congregations in the islands of the Archipelago; but neither the Greeks, nor their Turkish masters, allowed the missionaries to extend their spiritual jurisdiction. About 1630, great hopes were conceived of a reconciliation of the Greeks to the Papal church. Urban VIII. called to his assistance a number of persons, eminent in the Grecian and other oriental learning. The wisest of these counsellors laid

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it down as a preliminary of such a difficult negotiation, that the Greeks, and other eastern Christians, should be indulged in every point, formerly denied by the Romish missionaries; and that no alteration should be made in their doctrine, or ritual of worship. Proceeding upon this plan, Alacius, Morinus, Galanus, Lucas Holstenius, Abraham Ecchellensis, and others, in a variety of elaborate productions, pretended to demonstrate, that the Greeks, Nestorians, and Monophysites, had not really differed from the Romish church, except in the use of a few ceremonies, and in the use of some uncommon phrases peculiar to the East.

Many of the oriental doctors, especially Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of extensive learning and piety, who had travelled through a considerable part of Europe, and was acquainted with the doctrine, worship, and government of both Popish and Protestant churches, warmly opposed these artful attempts to subject their people to Rome. Cyril intended, if possible, to render the doctrines of his church more conformable to the gospel-simplicity, and somewhat similar to these established in Holland or England. Rendered by this means extremely odious at Rome, the Jesuites, seconded by the French ambassador, and some perfidious Greeks, persecuted him; and, at last, by the help of false witnesses, got him condemned as a traitor to the Ottoman government, in 1638, and Cyril bishop of Berea, who had been the principal tool in the late patriarch's murder, substituted in his place. He openly declaring himself a friend of the Romans, a reconciliation of the two churches was firmly expected. But the just vengeance of Heaven quickly brought this perfidious murderer to an untimely end, as a traitor to the Turkish empire; and Parthenius, a most zealous opposer of the Romanists, was advanced

in his stead. Since which, scarce any further attempt has been made by the pontifical party, to gain over the Greeks.

As the Romists and Reformed engaged in a warm contest, whether the Greek church had believed transubstantiation, and some other fancies of Rome, both parties procured certificates from the east in their favour. The Protestant disputants made it evident enough, that their antagonists had procured many of theirs with bribes, from indigent Greeks, or from such as had conceived a disgust at their brethren; and had procured others by a Jesuitical disguising of the Popish tenets, and imposing on the poor Greeks, whose learning was but small. It also appeared, that the Popish doctors forged books for their purpose, or caused the productions of some pitiful dependant of their own, pass under the name of some venerable doctor of Greece. Moreover, it is probable, that the Greeks, several ages ago, had some obscure fancy similar to transubstantiation; and that the dupes of Rome have borrowed from Aquinas, or even from the late Popish missionaries, the manner of expressing it.

In this eighteenth century, the Greeks continue in much the same condition as before: only it is said, they are more mildly treated by their Turkish masters. They all hold the word of God for the sole supreme standard of faith and manners; but they allow too much authority to the decisions of their fathers, and of the six general councils of Nice, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Constantinople, especially on the head of ceremonies, and condemnation of heretics. They detest the papal supremacy, and his pretence to infallibility; or to give dispensations to sin, or pardons thereof; and these in Lesser Asia excommunicate him once every year. They reject transubstantiation; the sacrifice of the mass; solitary masses, in which the priest alone

alone communicates; consecration of the elements by whispering, *This is my body*, over them; adoration of them, or carrying them about in religious procession; communicating only in bread, and using unleavened wafers instead of it; together with human satisfactions of divine justice for sin; the purgatorial state of departed souls; the pretending of confirmation, marriage, ordination, and extreme unction, to be sacraments; the imposition of clerical celibate; the fixing of clerical ordinations to the Ember weeks; the pretence to an indelible character of priesthood; the making or using of molten or graven images, and all images of divine persons; and many of them allow no images at all in churches. They recommend auricular confession of sins four times a-year; but do not insist for a full confession as necessary to pardon; and some do not insist on any such confession. They detest a great many of the papal rites relative to holy vestments, festivals, and the like; they abhor the multiplication, idleness, and profligacy of the Romish monks, and have none but the rule of St Basil for these of their own. They have four liturgies, or modes of public worship, especially the eucharist, viz. these of St James, Chrysostom, Basil, which is principally esteemed, and Gregory the Great. They detest the court of inquisition, and all persecution upon the account of religion; but this last only holds, where the civil government is not in their hands.

Besides what is common to them and other Christian churches, they believe that the Holy Ghost proceeds only from the Father, though it is by the Son; that painted images of angels and saints may be adored, in order to worship God by them; that angels and saints, particularly the blessed Virgin, are our assistant intercessors with God; that Christ after his death descended to hell, though we know not the end of his so doing; that the ob-



servance of *fasts* and *half-fasts*; particularly of Lent, is a binding rule of morality; that Christians ought still to abstain from things strangled and blood; that we ought to observe festivals in honour of the more distinguished saints; that baptism is of absolute necessity to salvation, and so may be administered, when needful, by daies of either sex, and ought to be administered by a triple dipping of the person baptized; that clergymen ought never to take more than one wife, or laymen more than two in succession, unless the two have both died childless ere he was quite forty years of age; that the departed souls of saints rest in a middle state called paradise till the day of judgment, and are profited by our prayers and oblation of alms for them. Not a few of them believe, that by performing imperfect works as well as we can, we draw the gracious influence of God to our assistance; that we are justified by both faith and works; and that it is scarce probable, the torments of hell will be eternal.—They celebrate their service of the eucharist in the old Greek tongue, which few understand, and have the elements delivered to them by the priest in a spoon; they prohibit marriages in Lent, or on other holy fasts; they prohibit the reading of heretical books by the laity; and all are prohibited to attend stage-plays, or observe other Heathen customs. They excommunicate upon very trifling occasions. Their church-government is of the Episcopal form; and their patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops, are at least generally chosen from among their Basilian monks.

Of the Greek churches independent on the patriarch of Constantinople, none but the Russian furnishes any matter worthy of an historian's notice. About 1666, the Isbraniki, *chosen multitude*, or, as their enemies called them, Roskilinki, or Roskolinska, *seditious faction*, arose, or rather revived with

with new vigour, and excited no inconsiderable tumults in the Russian empire. They pretended a great regard to the letter of the scripture; they allowed no priest to administer the sacraments after he had tasted spirituous liquor; they allowed their beards to grow their full length, and are content to pay a tax for that liberty. They denied the lawfulness of civil government among Christians, and all difference of rank among the faithful. They will not so much as drink out of a vessel that has been used by other Russians; at least, not till the devil be driven out of it by prayer and exorcism. Their refusal to admit others into their religious assemblies, tempted their enemies to suspect them guilty of the vilest abominations. But their practice was regular even to austerity. They loudly complained of the corruptions introduced into the Russian church, by the negligence and ambition of the Episcopal order. Great pains was taken, by arguments, by edicts of councils, and by persecution, racks, and gibbets, to force them back into the bosom of the church; but all proved ineffectual; and by driving them into woods and deserts, made them fierce, intractable, and desperate. Peter the Great tried milder methods; but it seems they still continued obstinate, and spread their opinions into Siberia.

That same monarch, in the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the present century, effected a remarkable change in the Russian church. To cure the almost brutal ignorance of the clergy, and others, he, with great zeal, promoted the knowledge of arts and sciences, and erected new seminaries of learning for that effect. He abolished the penal laws against such as dissented from the established church; but modified that indulgence, so as to prevent the extension of the papal jurisdiction, beyond the few chapels of that communion expressly tolerated. No Jesuites were permitted to enter the

kingdom as missionaries, or as public teachers; and the council for ecclesiastical affairs was charged to use their utmost care, to prevent the spread of the Romish opinions. But after all, the Russians are still attached to their ancient ignorance and barbarity. It appears from Javoriski's treatise against heretics, that some of them would still gladly persecute all that differ from them, with fire and sword.

The Russian patriarch having got himself made independent of the Constantinopolitan, aimed at rendering his power quite superior to that of the emperor, who on Palm-Sunday used to walk bare-headed before him, leading his horse. Nikon contended with the Czar Alexander, the father of Peter, that neither peace nor war ought to be made without the patriarchal consent. Joachim, his successor, laboured to subject the imperial power to his own, by methods more subtle and crafty. Peter, provoked with such attempts, entirely suppressed the patriarchal power; and in his own imperial character, assumed an absolute headship over the church; and diminished the power of the other ecclesiastical dignitaries. He appointed a holy council, in which one of the archbishops alway presides, to take care of the church; and which, about 1720, according to Peter's direction, drew up a body of ecclesiastical laws. He once resolved to abolish monasteries and convents, as unfriendly to the state, and to the population, so necessary in his extensive empire; but upon further thought, he contented himself with enacting, that none under fifty years of age, or invested with civil authority, should be admitted into the number of monks, which now scarce exceed thirteen thousand.

While the Russian church received considerable additions, by the conversion of multitudes of the Heathen Ostiaks, and others, in Siberia and Tartary, the



the French doctors of the Sorbonne delivered to Peter the Great, when he was at Paris in 1717, a plan of union between the Roman and Russian churches. But Peter had too much wisdom and pride to accede to it; but instead thereof, took care to spread copies of the Bible, I suppose of the new translation which himself had procured, through his extensive dominions. It seems, that about 1723, he permitted the Protestants to build churches and schools for their own service; and declared, that his subjects were at liberty to embrace the Protestant religion. In 1762, Peter III. intended to have trode in his predecessor's steps, bringing the Russian church still nearer to the Protestant model; but want of due prudence, and an untimely end, put a stop to his projects.

The divisions of the former century still reigned among the Nestorians. Some of their bishops at Mosul offered to join the Romists, upon condition the pope would allow them a church at Rome, and no way alter their doctrine and discipline. But as this proposal was neither to the honour nor interest of his Holiness, it was not accepted. The Nestorian bishops of Ormus, oftener than once, sent to Rome plans of union, with a plain confession of their principles, and an account of their customs. But as they were miserably poor, their desires of coalescence were suspected of selfishness, and little attended to. Many of the Nestorians, on the coast of Malabar, called *the Christians of St Thomas*, could not be forced into the Romish communion, by all the artifice and violence which the Jesuites and Portuguese could apply to convert them. When the Dutch, in 1663, expelled the Portuguese from these parts, the Nestorians regained their former liberty, and are still allowed to serve God in their own manner. Both Nestorians and Armenians detest the worship of all images, whether painted, molten, or graven.

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Not long after the commencement of this century, Shah Abbas the Great of Persia, laid waste the south and east parts of Armenia, that the wide desert might deprive the Ottoman Turks of subsistence, when they attempted to approach his frontiers; and caused the Armenian Christians retire into Persia. The more opulent repaired to Ispahan the capital, where Abbas granted them the beautiful suburb of Zulfa, sufficient to contain many thousands; and allowed them the free exercise of their religion, under their patriarch. About 1630, a terrible persecution of them by Shah Sefi, Abbas's successor, forced many of them to become Mahometans; and reduced their church to the brink of ruin. The Armenian merchants which fixed their residence at London, Amsterdam, Marseilles, and Venice, for the sake of trade, procured printed editions of the Scripture in the Armenian language, and dispersed them among their brethren in the east. This, we hope, tended to their revival, and preserved that illiterate people from falling into the very depths of ignorance. By the intrigues of Andrew Achigian, who had been educated at Rome, a small body of the Monophysites in Asia, embraced the papal communion; and he became their patriarch, by the name of Joseph XXIV. He was succeeded by one Peter, whom the true Eutychian patriarch persuaded the Persian king to depose and banish; after which his small congregation dispersed.

The Monophysites of Abyssinia, and other places of Africa, stood firm against every attempt of the Romish missionaries. In the beginning of this century, Pays the Jesuite laboured so effectually with Dengil emperor of Abyssinia, who is head of both church and state, that he became inclined towards Popery; and, it is said, wrote to his Holiness for missionaries to convert his subjects. Provoked herewith, they rebelled, and dethroned him.

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in 1604. Susneus, who dethroned Jacob the succeeding emperor, by means of Jesuitical eloquence, and by expectation of assistance against his enemies from Portugal, was decoyed to commit the government of his church to Mendez the Jesuite as patriarch. Susneus, about 1623, published the Romish Confession of Faith; and not long after, publicly swore allegiance to the pope, and ordered all his subjects to exchange the doctrines and rites of their fathers, for these of Rome. Mendez, as if at home in Portugal, put in practice the spirit of the inquisition, converting the Ethiopians by threatenings and tortures, and requiring them to be rebaptized, and their clergy to be reordained, as if both had formerly been Heathens. He even pretended to give law to the emperor himself. Inflamed with rage, the people took arms to preserve their religion, in nine different rebellions. Susneus was obliged to recall his edict in favours of Popery, and leave his subjects to retain their old, or embrace the new religion, as they pleased. Basilides, his son, whom the missionaries, perhaps quite falsely, represent as inclined to Mahomedism, succeeding him in 1632, banished Mendez, with all his European attendants, and treated the Popish evangelists with the utmost severity. Mendez solicited the king of Spain, and viceroy of Goa, to restore them by force; and set up Ras Sella Christos, Basilides's uncle or brother, against him. Basilides overthrew his opposers, and till about 1650, the persecution of Ras Sella Christos, and other Romanists, was continued. By courting the friendship of his neighbouring Mahomedan princes, and otherwise, Basilides took pains to secure his kingdom against the entrance of Popish missionaries, either from Goa, or through Egypt. The like precautions have hitherto prevented the success of their repeated attempts, to re-enter that country. Not a few of their missionaries have met with their death,



death, in labouring to enter. Nor could the influence of Lewis the Great, of France, procure them readmission. Whether the famed embassy of Poncet from Lewis, to the Abyssinian emperor, about 1700, and of Morat to Lewis and the pope, were mere forgeries, I cannot certainly determine.

Informed of the condition of the Ethiopian church, the Lutherans conceived an earnest desire to dispel the ignorance, and correct the superstitions thereof. In 1634, the learned Heyling of Lubec undertook a voyage to that country, resided therein many years, and became prime minister of state. After giving manifold instances of his zeal for the public welfare, he set out for Europe, but perished by the way. Some years after, Ernest the Pious, prince of Saxe Gotha, instigated by his counsellor, the famous Ludolf, dispatched Gregory an Abyssinian, whom Ludolf had retained for his instruction in the language, to instruct his countrymen more fully in the knowledge of the gospel: but he perished by shipwreck in his way home, *A. D.* 1657. In 1663, Ernest intrusted a similar commission with the learned Michael Wansleb, a native of Erfurth. He perfidiously spent his time and money in Egypt; and then returning, incapable to account for his conduct, retired to Rome, turned Papist, and commenced a Dominican friar. Colbert, the French minister, so remarkable for projects, sent him back to the east, where he bought about five hundred oriental manuscripts for the king's library; but not finding it possible to penetrate into Ethiopia, he returned to France in *A. D.* 1670.

S E C T.

## S E C T. II.

*The history of the Popish church.*

WITH ardent zeal, and unwearied industry, the Romish apostles, and their directors, laboured in converting the Heathens to the papal faith. By the advice of Narni his confessor, Gregory XV. in 1622, established at Rome, a *Congregation for the propagation of the faith*; and endowed it with ample revenues, which were further enlarged by the donations of Urban VIII. and others. According to its original bull of erection, it consists of thirteen cardinals, two priests or monks, a secretary, an apostolic prothonotary, one referendary, and one of the secretaries of the inquisition: or, according to Aymon, of eighteen cardinals, and one of the pope's secretaries. By this society vast numbers of missionaries are sent to different quarters; proper books are published in the languages of these nations among whom the converters labour, and sent to be dispersed; of which, it is said, the scriptures are a part. But it is more certain, that most of their converts know nothing about the scriptures; and that some of their missionaries are acquainted therewith only by report. Great numbers of ingenious youth are trained up for these missions, with the utmost care. Numbers of the children of Heathens, Protestants, and oriental Christians, are instructed in the Romish faith, that, upon their return to their respective countries, they may enlighten their blinded brethren.

In 1627, Urban added the *College for the propagation of the faith*, in which these intended for foreign missions, are taught the languages of the countries to which they are to be sent, and the sciences proper to procure them a favourable reception.

ception. It was at first governed by the three canons of the parochial churches at Rome : but since 1641, it has been directed by the just mentioned congregation. Baptista Viles, a Spanish nobleman, was properly the founder hereof, as he gave his house, and ample possessions, for the support thereof : and his liberality awakened a spirit of pious emulation in others, which still continues. About 1644, Antherius, the nominal bishop of Bethleem, founded in France the *Congregation of the holy sacrament*, which must always have a number of youth in readiness for foreign missions. In 1663, Lewis the Great instituted the *Congregation of priests for foreign missions* ; while the archbishop of Paris, and his clergy, founded another seminary for the like purpose ; and which has still continued to pour forth missionaries into Siam Tonquin, Chochin China, Persia, and other places of Asia. Some other seminaries of this kind were erected in other places, especially by the Jesuites.

The Franciscans, Dominicans, Capuchins, and especially the Jesuites, laboured heartily in the propagation of their faith ; and no less heartily hated and blamed one another, for indolence, or for corruption of the Christian scheme. All the rest represented the Jesuites as horribly wicked and deceitful ; as indulging their converts in as much of their Heathen devotion or morals as they pleased to retain ; as teaching them loose morals, inconsistent with the purity of the gospel ; as sticking at nothing to insinuate themselves into the favour of great personages, or to aggrandize their own honour and wealth ; as kindling up civil wars in the countries where their designs were obstructed ; and, in fine, as refusing obedience to his Holiness, and his vicars and bishops commissioned by him. These accusations were so fully attested, that in spite of all the society could do, they were believed at Rome, and their members less employed in that arduous trust.

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It is however certain, that none were better qualified to promote numerous conversions; as they required no more of their profelytes, but to add the Christian name, the baptism of water, and a few of the Roman fooleries, to their former superstition; or, they taught the Heathens to retain their wonted rites and idolatry, and only pretend to direct their devotions to a new object. They artfully studied men's natural inclinations, and suiting themselves thereto, they insinuated themselves into favour. To procure the regard and esteem of the Indian kings, princes, and priests, they applied themselves to mathematics, physick, poetry, painting, sculpture, architecture, and other elegant arts; and laboured to render themselves masters of politics, that so they might be able to give counsel in critical cases. It is no less certain, that they paid little regard to papal decrees, except such as themselves had dictated, or which tended to their advantage.

The Japanese believed they could only obtain eternal happiness through the voluntary death and merits of Xaca, Amida, and others of their gods. They favoured melancholy persons who had murdered themselves, and honoured them in much the same manner as the Papists did their saints. They used processions, statues, candles, and perfumes, in their worship; and had convents for their devotees, where they lived in celibate, solitude, and abstinence. It was easy to render such the votaries of Rome. The labours of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, but chiefly of the Jesuites, had surprising success among them. As the Heathen bonzas or priests represented the poor and sick as hated of God, the missionaries, by representing them as his peculiar favourites, thus prepared for everlasting happiness, and by assisting them with medicine, or supplying their wants, converted great numbers of them to the Roman yoke. The most

bitter contests between the missionaries quickly ensued. The noise of Jesuitical avarice and ambition sounded from Japan through all the corners of Christendom. With equal zeal they traduced their brethren, as preventing the conversion of the Heathen, by imprudence and ignorance of the world, or by their asperity, and disgustful rusticity of manners.

But in 1615, after above sixty years spread of our Saviour's name, the new emperor of Japan issued forth a most terrible edict against the Christians within his dominions. All foreigners, especially the Spaniards and Portuguese, were ordered to leave the kingdom, and all the natives to renounce their Christianity, under the pain of the most tormenting death. Could we believe the missionaries, some hundred thousands were cut off in this horrible persecution; and multitudes of every age and sex endured the most shocking cruelty, and exquisitely painful deaths, rather than renounce their faith; of whom the Europeans were the most distinguished. What occasioned this terrible work, is not agreed. Probably the imprudence of the Christians, and the factious, arrogant, and covetous behaviour of some missionaries, had given offence. The Dutch, then at war with the Spaniards, had intercepted some letters of the Jesuites, which imported their hopes of quickly reducing the whole empire under the Papal, if not also the Spanish yoke. These, it seems, the Dutch, for their own advantage, conveyed to the emperor, who, no doubt, would consider even the pope as a temporal prince. It is certain, that since that period no Christian, nor European, except the Dutch, who, it is said, deny themselves to be Christians, and for manifestation thereof tread the cross under their feet, is permitted to trade with, or enter that insular, but immensely rich empire. About 1709, one Sidori, a zealous missionary, got into it, but

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was quickly put to death, though we know not the manner.

About the beginning of this century, a numerous body of Jesuitical, Dominican, Franciscan, and Capuchin missionaries, were dispatched for China, the other grand empire of the eastern world. By their careful study of, and suiting themselves to the tempers of the people, and by recommending themselves to the favour of the emperor, and his mandarins, i. e. nobles and ministers of state, with their skill in mathematical sciences, by casting of guns, and the like, the Jesuites had the most distinguished success. But a terrible contest broke out between them and their brethren of the mission. Ricci, Shaal, Verblest, and other Jesuites, pretended, that by the TIEN, or *heavens*, the Chinese had alway meant the *true God*; and that their yearly adoration of their ancestors, enjoined under pain of losing their citizenship, was but a civil honour, and therefore allowed their converts to continue in worshipping Tien, and adoring their deceased progenitors. The Dominicans loudly complained hereof, as an indulgence of them in Heathen idolatry. After they had long contested in a more private manner, the cause was, in 1645, brought before the papal tribunal. Innocent X. condemned the Jesuitical indulgence; but Alexander VII. about eleven years after, materially reversed his decree. In 1661 and 1674, the Dominicans, but without much success, renewed their complaints. About 1684, the dispute again broke forth in China, with redoubled fury; and in 1693, Maigrot, the papal vicar in Fokien, and afterwards bishop of Conon, determined the point in opposition to the Jesuites. The other missionaries universally approved of his decision; but the Jesuites warmly resisting, Maigrot was obliged to refer the affair to pope Clement XI. in 1696. He referred it to the congregation of the inquisition, which at last decided a-



gainst the Jesuites. Their deed was approved and confirmed by his Holiness in 1704. About an hundred and forty doctors of the Sorbonne also declared their opinion, condemning the Jesuites.

Clement did not venture to publish his decree; but committed it to cardinal Tournon, nominal patriarch of Antioch, whom he sent to China, to examine the affair upon the spot. Tournon, upon his arrival, published an order against compliance with the Chinese idolatry, to which most of the missionaries submitted. But the bishops of Ascalon and Macao, and twenty-four other Jesuites, appealed to the pontiff, and dispatched one of their number to sustain their cause. Meanwhile, the emperor of China took the part of the Jesuites, threw Maigrot into prison, and prohibited any missionary to remain in his dominions who did not approve of the ceremonies. Tournon was banished, and afterwards poisoned. Count Thaun, the emperor Joseph of Germany's general, having, in his march to invade Naples, entered Rome at the head of five hundred horsemen, told his Holiness, that his master was determined to stand by the Jesuites. The general of the Jesuites from Tivoli, also wrote him a missive, rehearsing what his order had done for supporting the papal interest, and threatening to come to an open rupture with him, if he did not cease to persecute their friends in China. Terrified with these menaces, especially the emperor's, Clement dispatched two of his nephews, who were afterwards cardinals, to clap up a peace with the Jesuite-general. The affairs of China were left as in 1700. The procedure of Tournon was declared rash, and beyond his commission; and Ptolmei, a Jesuite, was made cardinal in his room. All the privileges of their order were confirmed; the pope engaged to canonize one of their departed saints, and to beatify another; and to condemn their Jansenist-opposers.

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The Jesuites, on their part, engaged to do their utmost for extirpating heresy, and promoting the papal jurisdiction; and in particular to maintain an hundred and sixty more missionaries in England. But it seems that about five years after, in 1710, Clement, in consequence of a deed of the congregation of the inquisition, in an ambiguous manner, condemned the Jesuitical indulgences of the Chinese; and, in 1715, imposed an oath to be taken by every missionary, that they would adhere to that condemnation.

It is said, the Jesuites, by historical fictions, persuaded the Chinese, who are fond of antiquity, and especially the emperor, and some of his grandees who entered their order, that Jesus Christ had been very anciently worshipped in China; and represented him as a kind of angelic conqueror of nations, rather than a true Mediator. They interfered with the affairs of war, taught the art of making cannons, and assisted in settling the boundaries between the Russian and Chinese empires. While their chiefs haunted the court of the emperor, or the palaces of the mandarins, and rioted in luxury and splendour, the less distinguished brethren, by flattery of vicious inclinations, and every similar art, courted the favour of the populace.

Notwithstanding all their labour and craft, they and other missionaries were at last expelled from China, and Christianity totally abolished. When Chun Chi, the first Tartarian emperor, died in 1662, and left Kan Chi his son a minor, the guardian mandarins raised a terrible persecution against the Christians. The missionaries were stript of all their privileges, and treated with no small barbarity. Adam Schaal the Jesuitical chief, who had been principal engineer to Xun Chi, was imprisoned and condemned to death, and his brethren were banished. Nor could all the art and labour of

Verbiest procure the least permission for building of churches, or for the Chinese to become Christians. About 1669, Kan Chi, perhaps now fifteen years of age, taking the government into his own hands, recalled the Jesuites, restored them to their honours and privileges, made them his intimate friends and counsellors, and the directors of his mathematical studies. Others, skilful in the arts and sciences, were invited from Europe. Multitudes of missionaries, hundreds at a time, crowded to China, and made plenty of converts. In 1692, Kan Chi, by a solemn edict, declared, that the Christian religion was no way detrimental to the empire, and that all his subjects might embrace it if they pleased. In 1700, he ordered a magnificent church to be built for the Jesuites, within the precincts of his own palace. But in 1716, we find him discharging the erection of churches, or of preaching the gospel, without an imperial patent. His son Yong Ching, succeeding him in 1722, quickly treated these of the royal family, who had become Christians, with great severity. In 1732, he banished all the Jesuites to Macao; and about three hundred thousand nominal Christians were obliged to resume their Heathen religion, or expose themselves to terrible persecution. Some Jesuites have since attempted to re-enter China, by the way of Tonquin; but were speedily apprehended, and put to death by the emperor's orders.

Alexander of Rhodes, and his Jesuitical brethren, having converted prodigious numbers in the kingdoms of Siam, Tonquin, and CochinChina, eastward of the Ganges, pope Alexander VII. about 1658, sent some priests from the French congregation to rule these new churches in his name. But the Jesuites refused to submit to them, or even to allow them a share in their successful work. This occasioned a long and tedious contest before the



the Roman court; in which it appeared, that the Jesuites regard his Holiness no further than is subservient to their own designs, and personal or social interests. In 1663, three nominal bishops were dispatched from France to Siam. For his own purposes, the crafty monarch of Siam so flattered them, that they conceived hopes of his conversion to the Romish faith. One of these bishops returning to France, gave such a favourable account of the mission to Siam, that Lewis the king and pope Clement X. sent letters with him, thanking the king for his kindness. In 1684, Lewis sent Chaumont on a solemn embassy to that king, to persuade him to become a Christian. Falcon, a Christian of the Greek church, also laboured to dispose his master to believe the gospel. But the Indian monarch told Chaumont, that if God had not reckoned difference in religion agreeable and comely, he would never have permitted it; and that since God, to whom it properly pertained, concerned himself so little about promoting an uniformity of religion in the world, he thought it was none of the king of France's business to interfere. About four years after, the king and Falcon his minister of state were murdered, and the mission ended in smoke.

In the East-Indies, chiefly in Madura, the Jesuites, Theatins, and Augustinians, laboured to promote the Papal religion. Nobili, an Italian Jesuite, finding that the Brachmins were revered as the divine offspring of Brama their god, and that the Europeans were detested, he besmeared his face, and counterfeiting the Bramin austerities, pretended to be one of them. He produced a scroll of old parchment, in which he had forged a deed, in Indian characters, declaring, that the Bramins of Rome were more ancient than these of India. Some of the more sagacious Heathens suspecting his old parchment, he, before an assembly

bly of Bramins, solemnly deposed, that he derived his original from the god Brama. By such methods, he decoyed twelve of the principal Bramins to be his disciples; and their example and influence engaged others to receive his instructions. After his death, the mission was at a stand for a time; but some other French and Portuguese Jesuites revived it; and by pretending to be not Europeans, but northern Bramins, and by practising of great austerities before the people, gained vast numbers of proselytes. The French missionaries in Carnate not carrying their austerities so far, had less success.

The labours of the missionaries in Ethiopia, and the issue thereof, have been already hinted. In the west of Africa, where-ever the Portuguese or French obtained settlements, the Capuchins, with terrible danger and hardship, laboured in the work of their pontifical master, and are said to have converted the kingdoms of Benin, Anwerri, and Metamba. But, except where the terror of the Popish arms, or the need of their help, enforced the missionaries labours, it doth not appear they had any considerable success. Nor were some of their leading converts much different from devils in human shape.

In these parts of America seized by the Spaniards, Portuguese, and French, the Jesuites, Franciscans, and others, have, with infinite labour and hazard, exerted themselves to promote the conversion of the natives. But, as the Bible was scarce ever put into their hands, one may readily guess, that excepting the name, these converts had much the same degree of Christianity as before. In dealing with the Heathen nations, who lived near the English, and perhaps also the Dutch plantations, the great point was to make the converts believe the religion of these Protestants to be absolutely damnable, and themselves to be a kind of devils.

devils. Under pretence of maintaining the purity of religion, and of preserving their converts from being infected with the bad example and influence of the European colonies, the Jesuites sometimes formed civil societies of their proselytes, in which themselves ruled as both priests and magistrates. In the inland country of South America, they formed the noted empire of Paraguay, from which they labour to exclude every European power besides their own. Nor do they admit any Europeans but with the utmost precaution.

The papal efforts to recover what they had lost in Europe, and to crush the Protestant heretics, were equally strenuous. Scioppius, a renegade Protestant, the Jesuites, Tanner, Possévin, and others, were employed to represent the treaty of Passau and Augsbourg, as nullified by the Lutherans recessions from the principles of their Augustan Confession. Their pretences were publicly refuted, by the orders of George elector of Saxony; but they went on with their impudent clamour. In correspondence herewith, the Protestants in Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and Moravia, were grievously persecuted, contrary to treaty, and to every form of justice. Provoked with innumerable instances of oppression, the Bohemians entered into a solemn league of mutual defence, and began to resent the injuries done them, in their civil and religious liberties, with no small ardour and spirit. The Protestants of Silesia, Lusatia, Moravia, and Upper Austria, joined them. When Matthias the emperor, their king, died in 1619, they, considering that their crown was elective, and that Popish sovereigns had long been the source of their misery, resolved to choose a Protestant king. They chose Frederic, palatine of the Rhine, son-in-law of James I. of England, who professed the Reformed religion. He was scarce enthroned, when Ferdinand of Austria, the emperor, who claimed Bohemia,



hemia, as heir to his father, assisted by the Bavarians and the Saxons, whose fickle and selfish elector had been persuaded by Matthew Hoe, his Lutheran chaplain, to assist the Popish party to crush the Reformed, attacked him with fury. Bohemia was quickly reduced. The Protestants were murdered, imprisoned, banished, or spoiled of their whole freedom in religion. After much barbarous usage, the principal managers of the Bohemian attempt to secure their natural and religious liberties were publicly executed. It is pleasant to observe them, receiving their death in the manner of Christians and martyrs for truth. The Palatinate was next invaded and ravaged. Frederic was stripped of all his dominions, and had been reduced almost to beggary, had not the Dutch allowed him a proper fund of subsistence. Multitudes in Britain would have gladly risked their wealth and lives in the cause of Frederic; and these of the pious sort prayed for him and his family with such care and earnestness, as if they had foreseen they would, to the preservation of their religion and liberty, succeed to the British government, when the Stewartine family should be disgraced. But James himself pitifully neglected their cause. Several of the powers in Germany entered into a league with Christiern IV. of Denmark, to recover the Palatinate. But their force proved insufficient to withstand their opposers. The Romists triumphed, as if certain of the ruin of the Protestant heretics, at least in Germany. Ferdinand required them to restore to the church, whatever of her property they had procured by the treaty of Passau. The Jesuites suggested this scheme, and claimed a principal part of the restitutions, as the reward of their uncommon labours in the cause of religion. The barbarous soldiery, who wasted the Protestant territories, inhumanly forced them to give up whatever the pontifical clergy thought fit

to claim. When some represented to Ferdinand, that such barbarous procedure would entirely ruin Bohemia, especially if the people rendered desperate, should take up arms in their own defence; he replied, that he had rather see his kingdom desolate, than damned for heresy. It was enacted, that none but Catholics should be allowed to buy or sell, make a testament, learn a trade, or continue in an hospital. It is shocking to think, what cruelties, and what horrid abuse of women, were perpetrated by the Popish armies. Tilly, the imperial general, who for about fifty years was almost constantly victorious, boasted of his inhuman conduct. In 1631, Magdeburg was taken, and almost entirely burnt. Fourteen thousand, if not near the double of the citizens were murdered in cold blood; others driven naked into the woods. Tilly boasted of this massacre as his marriage-dinner.

In 1629, when the most of the German Protestants had for several years continued in a wretched condition, and seemed entirely incapable of recovering themselves, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden espoused their cause. The rapidity of his victories quickly reduced the pontificals to the brink of ruin. But his death in 1632, at the battle of Lutzen, especially as he had no son to succeed him, revived their hopes. But it is astonishing to think, how his generals maintained their power in Germany. At last, a terrible war, of almost thirty years continuance, was ended by the treaty of Munster and Osnaburg, in Westphalia, in 1648. In this treaty, still reckoned the great charter of the German liberties, the Protestants, whether Lutheran or Reformed, to the infinite vexation of the ignorant and furious, but effeminate pope, who published a flaming bull against it, had their privileges, religious and civil, distinctly and expressly settled, and powerfully guaranteed; and the elector of Saxony, who had with great  
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ardour exerted himself for their interests, was constituted a kind of head to their body.

In Hungary, especially between 1671 and 1681, the Protestants were terribly insulted and harassed, chiefly by the Jesuites and their agents. The rebellion of some of their nobles furnished the emperor Leopold with a pretext for his violence against them. Between 1671 and 1674, almost all their churches were taken from them. Their ministers and teachers, as if accomplices in the rebellion, were cited to the courts of Presburg, &c. When they presented themselves, they were immediately required to subscribe certain engagements. Such as refused, were imprisoned and treated with the utmost severity. Forty-one of them being condemned to the galleys, were sent to Naples. But Rayter, the Dutch admiral, appearing before the place, at the instant of their arrival, obtained their release. Many of these who had been imprisoned in Hungary, were relieved by the intercession of the States General.

In Piedmont and Savoy, especially in 1622, 1632, 1650, 1655, 1663—1665, 1686, and 1696, the remains of the Waldenses were persecuted by the dukes of Savoy, with all the horrors of fire and sword. From 1646 to 1655, about forty thousand of them were murdered or driven out of the country. But Providence still interposed for their relief, in the depth of their distress. In 1655, Cromwel of England took their cause to heart; and in spite of all the villanous representations of the Papists, procured them their liberty. The English also sent them a considerable remittance of money. The poor remains of that people, which have survived the various and terrible massacres committed by the inhuman soldiery, have still no more than a precarious and hampered liberty, which is chiefly secured to them, by the influence of the English



English and Dutch, in the political balance of Europe.

In Spain there was scarce a Protestant to persecute. But the Saracens or Moors, though they professed Popery, were suspected to retain the dregs of Mahomedism. The clergy persuaded king Philip III. to expel them. After they had given no small disturbance, about six hundred thousand of Moors and Morescos were expelled, in 1609. This tended to the hurt of the nation; and its effects are still felt; but it added to the wealth of the clergy. Perhaps too, there might be almost twenty thousand Jews, who, in appearance, complied with the Papal religion, and many of them entered into orders: but they hated it in their heart.

In France, Henry IV. was no sooner murdered, than every method was taken to ruin the Protestant interest. Several fortified cities had been put into their hands, for securing the execution of the edict of Nantz. Their leaders, trusting to their external securities, were not over cautious, and even sided with the enemies of the court, if they thought it tended to preserve their liberty. Sometimes too, their nobles artfully pretended religion, when they really pursued the projects of their own ambition. The great Mornay du Plessi laboured at once to maintain their privileges, and keep them in proper obedience. About two years before his death in 1621, they were embroiled in a civil war with Lewis XIII; and about seven years after, in a second. In these they lost all their bulwarks of security, Rochelle the strongest being taken, after a terrible siege, in which many thousands of the inhabitants died of hunger. To relate the inhuman cruelties of the Popish soldiery towards the Reformed, or, as they called them, Hugonots, and even towards the innocent women, would shock the heart of any one, not entirely destitute of modesty or pity. Having deprived them of their civil

securities, cardinal Richlieu, prime minister of state, left no insidious method untried, to bring them back to the Romish church.

During the nonage of Lewis XIV. they had, about the middle of the century, been the principal instruments of preserving his crown. He had scarce arrived at manhood, when, directed by Jesuitical influence, he resolved to reward them with utter destruction. Thrice he solemnly swore to maintain their privileges, as established in the edict of Nantz, and he made above two hundred public declarations of the same import: but he scorned to keep faith with heretics, or any body else, if he thought it for his interest to break it. For about twenty-five years, he and his bishops laboured in compassing the Protestants ruin. Papists, even the basest, were encouraged to commence ruinous law-suits against them; and by perjury, or otherwise, the plea was almost constantly determined against them. They were deprived of all offices, civil or military, and of profitable employments, of masterships of trades, and of other means of procuring their livelihood. They had missionaries appointed to deal with them from time to time, who received so much money for every convert they made, children not excepted. These had liberty to insult ministers in public, or in their ecclesiastical courts. The Protestants children were taken from them, and carried into monasteries: nor were they allowed to train them up in their own religion, after they were seven years of age; and the Protestant teachers were exceedingly restricted. Every opportunity was taken to harass their ministers, in respect of their residence, the exercise of their functions, and their means of subsistence. Their churches were, upon the most insignificant pretences, suppressed one after another. While the Papalins poured forth their insidious and envenomed productions against the Reformed, none durst

durst publish any thing in their defence, or in favours of their religion, without exposing himself to the most vexatious consequences. Dragoons were also quartered among the Protestants, who, by the most savage conduct, forced multitudes to a renunciation of their principles; or at least, when almost distracted with tortures, to utter some expression, which, it was pretended, imported a renunciation.

In 1684, Lewis, solicited by La Chaise his confessor, is said to have signed a warrant for a general massacre of all the Reformed in his kingdom; but the prince of Conde, by earnest entreaties, prevented the execution thereof. When the number of Protestants, by apostacy, by murders, and by flight, were considerably diminished, Lewis and his bishops, to the inexpressible joy of the pontiff, revoked the edict of Nantz, as no longer necessary to the peace of his kingdom; and all the Reformed were charged, without delay, to return into the bosom of the Catholic church. It is astonishing, that impudence itself did not blush at the obvious falsities of this act of revocation. Multitudes, in consequence of it, attempting to leave their country, the converting dragoons were appointed to guard the passages, that none might depart without a licence. Terrible then was the scene. Multitudes were, as it were, imprisoned, and obliged either to violate their consciences, abjure their religion, and swear an approbation of the Romish, or expose themselves to the slavery of the galleys, to death, and to every thing horrid, whether dead or alive. After all, Bossuet of Meaux, in his pastoral letters, solemnly gave out, that no force had been used, or even threatened, in these conversions, but all had been quite voluntary, and appealed to the people of his diocese, if it was not so. When some Protestant writers expressed their surprise at his assertion, he published a solemn appeal to God for



the truth of it. Such was the candour of the famed Bossuet. About an hundred and fifty thousand got escaped to Switzerland, Holland, England, and especially to Brandenburg. The Protestants were not however utterly extirpated in France: for, in 1715, and 1724, we find royal proclamations against them. From 1744 to 1747, we find several edicts against, and severe persecutions of the Protestants in Dauphiny, Montauban, Castres, Nismes, Vivarais, and other places, for holding their religious assemblies: and in 1762, Mr Rochette was executed at Tholouse for professing the Protestant religion, and permitting others to join with him, in his own house, in the worship of God.

James I. of England was well known to be no bitter adversary to the Romish church; yet a set of desperate wretches, instigated by the Popish clergy, particularly three Jesuites, in 1605, attempted to blow up him and his whole parliament with gunpowder, and thus re-introduce Popery into Britain; but their design was frustrated. Charles I. having espoused a Popish queen, Henrietta, the sister of Lewis XIII. of France, she, and archbishop Laud, brought the British churches to the point of a reconciliation with Rome. This issued in the ruin of all these that were concerned in it. In 1641, the Irish Catholics, perhaps encouraged by both Charles and Henrietta, took arms, and, in the most barbarous manner, massacred about two hundred thousand Protestants. Urban VIII. graciously rewarded these murderers with his pontifical pardon of all their sins, however enormous. Not long after the middle of the century, Charles's two sons, Charles and James, devoted themselves to the Papal interest; and it was hoped, would, during their reigns, reduce the churches in their dominions to the pontifical yoke; especially as they were dupes of, and assisted by Lewis XIV. of France. But Charles was too voluptuous and Atheistical

theistical to be zealous; and James, by his mad and hasty zeal, defeated his own project.

Since the elevation of a Popish prince to the electorate of the Palatinate in 1685, the Reformed church in that country has exceedingly decreased; and though once the principal Reformed society in Germany, is now reduced to be one of the smallest. The Papists, who have there recovered their power, in the end of the last, and in this present century, annoyed them with no inconsiderable severities. No doubt, the apostacy of others of the German princes to Popery, has had its influence towards restoring the numbers and power of that church.

Notwithstanding that the statutes of Poland require the protection of Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Armenians, and Jews; and their kings at their coronation are solemnly engaged to execute the same: yet the Papists in Poland and Lithuania have not a little distressed the Protestants, in order to re-establish their own power. As the Protestants especially swarm in Royal Prussia, and are the chief inhabitants of Thorn, the Papists there, in 1724, made a solemn procession with their host, on the 16th of July. The Protestant children, who had never beheld such a spectacle, crowded to see it. A Jesuite student insisted for their kneeling to the host; but they refused. A bloody squabble ensued, which could not be quelled, till the city-guard was brought, and carried the student to prison. His fellow-students demanded his liberty; and because it was not immediately granted, they insulted the burgers, and murdered several. The city-guard was obliged to disperse them, and apprehend their leader. Upon the complaint of the principal of the Jesuites college, the magistrates released the first prisoner, but detained the other till they should converse with the principal. The Jesuite students armed themselves with sabres, and anew fell upon the Protestant burgers, which

were mostly Lutherans. This obliged the magistrates to march a body of soldiers against them, by whom they were defeated. While the Jesuite principal and the president of the city were conferring on this event, and producing their respective charges, the students again attacked the populace, but the guards interposed. It was expected, the discharge of the Jesuite student on the one side, and of a German on the other, would have quieted the mob. But the Jesuite students, provoked with the concessions made by their principal, fell upon the people with clubs, stones, and firearms. The mob, quite enraged with these repeated assaults, forced open the gates of the college, broke and destroyed whatever came in their way, and carried off an immense booty, which they burnt in the market-place.

The Jesuites filled the kingdom with outcries for vengeance on these who had insulted the Mediator, in the persons of his distinguished society; and who had impiously destroyed the altars and images of his saints. Instigated by such mad clamours, and their own bigotry, the diet of Poland, contrary to the rights of the province, took this immediately under their consideration; and appointed a commission of the most bloody and inveterate Papists, to try the affair. Every evidence in favours of the Lutherans was rejected, and the most abandoned wretches were sustained as witnesses against them. Sundry who proved themselves elsewhere at the time, were nevertheless committed to loathsome dungeons. The cognizance of the affair was referred to all the orders of the kingdom; and to prevent the interposal of any Protestant powers, the whole was hurried over in less than six weeks. The two presidents of the city were condemned to death, for not more effectually opposing the tumult; and their estates were confiscated;



ted; and the city obliged to indemnify the Jesuites. Seven principal citizens were beheaded; about twelve more were banished, and great numbers condemned to prison for six years. Three, who were accused of blaspheming the holy Virgin, and of casting her image into the fire, were punished with the loss of their right arm. The Protestant ministers were declared infamous. All papers published in their defence were burnt by the hand of the hangman; and every thing not licensed by the pontifical bishop, was forbidden to be printed. The altars of the Virgin were enriched with the Protestant spoils; and their principal church, with its fine furniture and library, was bestowed upon the Jesuites college. So inhuman was the procedure, that the pope's nuncio, but without success, earnestly intreated in favours of the Protestants. Shocked with the report, the kings of Prussia, Britain, and Sweden, and the Protestant princes of Germany, loudly complained of this conduct, as a notour infraction of the treaty of Oliva, in 1660. But they never procured any proper redress to the Protestants of Thorn.

The more prudent Catholics, convinced of the bad success of sanguinary attempts to recover the Protestants, inclined to try more gentle methods. Some were bent upon public disputations, expecting that these would issue to the honour of their cause. Others were for making small account of what the Protestants chiefly opposed. Some perceiving that their disputants marked more zeal than strength of argument, sought out subtle methods for vanquishing, or at least perplexing the stubborn heretics. By the orders of Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, and Lewis, elector of the Palatinate, the famed conference of Ratisbon was held in 1601, between some Lutheran doctors and three learned Jesuites. The subject of dispute was the rule of faith, and the supreme judge of controversies.

fies. By order of Wolfgang prince palatine, who had just turned Papist, a dispute was held between Heilbronner, a Lutheran doctor, and Keller a Jesuite. By order of Uladislaus IV. of Poland, another dispute was held about thirty years after at Thorn, in 1645, between several eminent doctors of the Romish, Lutheran, and Reformed churches, in order to unite them all into one. Not long after, Ernest, landgrave of Hesse, desirous to find some pretext for his embracement of Popery, ordered Valerian Magnus, a learned capuchin, to enter the lists with Habercom, a Calvinist doctor. There were besides vast numbers of more private disputes, one of the most noted of which was that in France, between Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, and Mr Claude, a famed Protestant minister. All these disputes did but tend to widen the difference.

The pacific Romanists spared no artifice to compass their end. They endeavoured to represent the difference between the Popish and Protestant churches as inconsiderable; and which, according to the Protestants themselves, did not endanger mens salvation, and might be easily accommodated by proper means. Richlieu, who for a time managed the kingdom of France, exerted himself by every insidious method to regain the Protestants, while his own party suspected him, on account of his condescensions, his maintaining a league with the Swedes and the German Protestants, and his giving the command of the armies to Protestant generals. The famous Turenne, when idle from war, assisted by some clergymen, who like himself had renounced the Protestant religion, or were on the point of it, tried to find out some reconciling scheme. None prosecuted the reconciliatory method with so much dexterity as Bossuet, in his Exposition of the Romish faith. To pave the way for the revocation of the edict of Nantz, he varnished over the Popish doctrines, as if they had been  
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the same with the Protestant principles, when rightly viewed. Whatever effect this had in seducing the persecuted Protestants of France, too ready to grasp at appearances of truth, the popes and their zealous adherents condemned it. Dezius the Jesuite laboured to prove, that there was almost no difference between the doctrines of Trent, and these of the Augustan Confession. In 1686, Christopher de Rohas, bishop of Tinia in Bosnia, began to visit the Protestant courts, and continuing to do so for several years, gave out in name of his Holiness, that a new general council was to be called; and that they might easily obtain whatever they desired, providing they but acknowledged the pope's paternal authority, and submitted to his mild government. But it was easily perceived, his scheme was laid to restore the pontifical tyranny. Some Protestants also reared their motley schemes of reconciliation; of whom were Le Blanc, Huiffeaux, and Milletier in France, William Forbes bishop of Edinburgh, Grotius in Holland; to which are ordinarily added Calixtus and Fabricius, the Lutheran professors of divinity at Helmstadt.

Some learned Catholics, from thence called *Methodists*, sought out methods of overwhelming and perplexing their heretical opposers. Of these some, as Nihufius the renegade Protestant, and the two Walenburgs, were for obliging the Protestants to prove each of their tenets, especially such as opposed the decisions of Trent, from express words of scripture; leaving nothing to themselves but the easy work of starting objections. Others insisted for confining the whole dispute to one single point. Richlieu was for confining it to the divine institution and authority of the church. Bossuet pretended to prove the falsity of the Protestant faith from their variation therein, or in the manner of expressing it, while he contended, that of his Catholics had continued the same from age to age. This pretence



tence was the more intolerable in him, as his own exposition of the Catholic faith had met with very diversified reception in his own church. What one pope had approved, another condemned. Some universities condemned it. Nay, the Sarbonne first condemned, and afterwards approved it. This bravado of Bossuet was answered by Jurieu, Burnet, and others; but chiefly by James Basnage, in his *Histories of the church, and of the Reformed religion*; in which he shews the variations of the Romish church in respect of power, government, doctrine, and worship; and the harmony of the Protestants with the ancients, and with one another, in every thing material.—Others insisted upon the prescriptive rights of the Roman church, in matters of religion. Others on the dreadful nature of schism, or the wickedness of the princes, and others, who had embraced the Protestant faith.

None of these devices had all the success was expected and wished. The principal apostates to Popery were Wolfgang, count palatine of the Rhine, Christian William marquiss of Brandenburg, Ernest prince of Hesse, Frederic and Ulric, dukes of Brunswick, two Augustus's, electors of Saxony, who abandoned their religion for the crown of Poland, the learned Scioppius, duke of Holstein, and others. Christina queen of Sweden was the most noted convert. Her religious sentiments had been miserably perverted, by the licentious insinuations of Bourdelot, her favourite. This, with her strong passion to visit Italy, and contemplate the noble remains of antiquity, and the fine arts, made very easy the work of Macedo, Malines, and Cassati, her Jesuitical converters, sent to her under the protection of the courts of Rome, Portugal, and Spain. The departure of none that I know of, was any real dishonour or loss to the Protestant church, their manner of life being considered.

In the Popish schools the philosophy of Aristotle, ill understood, still retained its superior authority. Terrified with every thing new, the popes durst not admit the most clear and rational scheme, to take the place of metaphysical distinctions, and unintelligible jargon and nonsense. Galileo, the famed mathematician of Florence, was imprisoned by the inquisition, for adopting the notion of Copernicus, relative to the rest of the sun, and the motion of the earth. Cartesius and his followers, Malebranche, Arnauld, Lami, Paschal, Nicole, and others, were, by their clerical brethren, abusively charged with irreligion and Atheism. Gassendi's modesty protected him; but it hindered the progress of his opinions in France, where people generally incline to be at the top of a science, without taking the intermediate steps necessary thereto. Nor to this day is philosophy in much better condition in most of the Popish universities and public schools.—But not a few men of genius appeared in France, Italy, and Spain; and were encouraged by the secular powers, chiefly by Lewis XIV. of France, where learning began to be exhibited in a more rational and alluring dress.

The Jesuites had long been the only monkish order that made any figure in the literary world. Petau, Sirmond, Pousses, Labbe, Abram, and others, displayed their uncommon erudition. Boasting of their own merits, and reproaching the Benedictines with their extreme sloth and stupidity, they aimed at procuring for themselves the rich possessions of that order. Alarmed herewith, the Benedictines, particularly these of the Congregation of St Maur, erected schools in their monasteries, and employed their principal members to compose literary productions. Mabillon, d'Achery, Massuet, Ruinat, Beaugendre, Garnier, de la Rue, Martene, Montfaucon, and others, executed their task with incredible

dible ability and success. To this order we owe the principal editions of the Greek and Latin fathers, with an infinity of discoveries in history, philosophy, and *belles lettres*. Whether the blazing lustre of the Benedictines had quite confounded the Jesuites, and rendered them unfit for study, it is certain that once so learned society, have since scarce published one production of merit. Awakened by the Benedictine example, Morin, Thomassin, Simon, Charles de Comte, and other priests of the oratory, distinguished themselves in different branches of learning, sacred and profane. The Jansenists too, especially these of Port-royal, Tillemont, Arnaud, Nicole, Paschal, Lancelot, and others, made an illustrious figure.

Except Quesnel's notes on the New Testament, which gave such offence to the pope and his friends, the Popish commentaries of the seventeenth century served chiefly to disfigure the pure word of God, with far fetched allusions, and frigid allegories, compiled from the ancient fathers. Calmet's large literal commentary, of the eighteenth, deserves a far better character. The old scholastic method of teaching theology still continued: but the French Jansenists, who also were the best commentators, and some priests of the oratory, wrote excellently on some points of divinity.

The doctrines of the Roman church were rather corrupted than reformed, especially by means of the Jesuites. It is true, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary by their Jansenist and other opposers, they did but more plainly exhibit the real doctrine of their church, which the council of Trent had varnished over, to deceive the Protestants, and such as inclined towards them. As the Jesuitical labours were directed to the support of pontifical majesty, the popes encouraged them herein, and generally gave a deaf ear to the accusations

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sations of their enemies. The scope of their doctrine was to depress the authority of the scriptures, and the virtue of Christ's mediation; to render the Christian religion suspected; and to exalt the powers of human nature, and the papal authority. They chiefly corrupted the *doctrine* of *morals*, teaching, that the avoidance of sin, merely for fear of punishment, is meritorious of eternal life; that one may safely break the divine law, if he has a probable reason, such as the sentiment of one doctor, on his side, even though his own conscience should dictate the contrary; that what is intrinsically sinful, and directly contrary to the divine law, becomes innocent, if it is done with a good intention; that clergymen may murder such as threaten to charge their order or community with scandalous crimes, if they can find no other method of preventing the dishonourable charge; that sins committed by a person ignorant or doubtful of the meaning of God's law, do not deserve the torments of hell; or perhaps their philosophic sin is that which is committed by one ignorant of God, and done without immediate thinking on that law of God which is directly opposite thereto; that sins committed under the violent impulse of lust and passion, are no more chargeable against one before God, than the acts of a madman; that, in order to elude the force of oaths and contracts, we may, in entering into them, subjoin such additions, reservations, and explications in our own mind, as we please. Paschal, in his Provincial Letters, and Perrault, in his Morals of the Jesuites, excellently exposed these abominations. But the society had influence enough to procure the public burning of both these productions at Paris. Nevertheless, in 1659 and 1690, the popes were obliged, for their own vindication, to condemn part of the Jesuitical morality. These papal bulls, with the loud outcries of their enemies, obliged the Jesuites to restrain

strain themselves a little in their practice : but they never purged their seminaries from the immoral maxims themselves. Kings, princes, and other great men, were even the more fond of them, for direction of their consciences, as they indulged them to their utmost wishes, and rendered the passage to heaven as easy as possible. We must not imagine all the Jesuites were equally debauched. It was only some of their principal disciples who were taught their mysteries of iniquity ; and no doubt, their enemies represented them as worse than they were.

Practical corruptions rather increased than were diminished. It was only such of the papal clergy as lived near to the Protestants, that were afraid to indulge themselves in the most open licentiousness. The pontiffs were too often patterns of wickedness. Paul V. was excessively jealous of his authority, and furiously revengeful. Gregory XV. was of a mild temper, and Urban VIII. a patron of learning ; but neither stuck at any thing which tended to ruin the Protestants : nor did the ignorant and profligate Innocent X. whose harlot Olympia managed the affairs of his popedom. Alexander VII. was noted for his craft, his mean-spiritedness, and his levity of sentiment and conduct. The Innocents XI. and XII. by their example and mandates, attempted to reform their clergy : but their successors, through their profligacy, or their attention to other matters, neglected to encourage these beginnings of reformation. The bishops were generally exalted to their dignity, by the favour of friends, or by Simoniacal pactions ; and their discharge of their function corresponded with their entry. Such of the clergy as behaved in a pious or decent manner, were contemned and hated of their brethren, who accounted their lives a remarkable reproach of their own. The monks did not generally wallow in profligacy, as they had formerly done ; but their morals still made but a wretched

wretched figure. In almost every order of note, reformation was attempted; which occasioned a division of the members into the *reformed* and *unreformed*. Amongst the reformed, the Congregation of St Maur chiefly distinguished themselves in learning. Some Jansenists, especially these of St Cyran, and the female convent of Port-royal, near Paris, distinguished themselves in severity. But the Bernardians of La Trappe, in Spain and Italy, surpassed even these in abstinence, mortification, and self-denial. Besides some more inconsiderable societies, we find established in this century, the *Fathers of the oratory of the holy Jesus*, who were instituted by cardinal Berulle in 1613, as a contrast to the Jesuitical order. The members are not obliged to renounce their property, or to continue in the society any longer than they please. Their business is to prepare themselves and others for a proper discharge of the sacerdotal function. Since the suppression of the Jesuites in France, the education of youth is committed to their trust.—The *order of the priests of the mission*, founded by pope Urban in 1632. Their work is to study the higher degrees of sanctity, by frequent prayer, meditation, perusal of pious books, and the like; and to spend eight months every year in the country, instructing the people, and relieving the poor and sick, and to inspect the seminaries where young men are trained up for holy orders. They also inspect the society of the *Virgins of love*, instituted in 1660, and whose office it is to assist the poor in their infirmity and sickness; and the *Pietists*, or *Brethren and Sisters of the Christian schools*, who devote themselves to the education of youth.

Scarce any change happened in the church's ritual, except that pope Urban in 1643, issued an order for diminishing the holy-days; and that Ignatius, the father of the Jesuites, with Xavier, their noted apostle, cardinal Borromeo bishop of Milan,



and about fourteen others, were papally canonized, and added to the list of the saints. Whatever high-sounding phrases were still used to express the dignity of the pontiff, it is certain his authority was exceedingly diminished, even with respect to the princes of his own communion; and they considered it as almost wholly confined to religious affairs. When, about the beginning of the century, the Venetians prosecuted two ecclesiastics for capital crimes, and prohibited the erection of any more religious houses, without the consent of the state, and the alienation of any laical property to the church without their express approbation; Paul V. laid their dominions under an interdict of public worship, and dispensation of sacraments. The senate ordered their clergy to continue their ministrations; and they banished the Jesuites and Capuchins for refusing to obey. Paul Sarpi, and Marsilio, learned men of their own, with Schaffier a Frenchman, defended the conduct of the senate, and the power of princes, with such strength of argument as exceedingly embarrassed Baronius, Bellarmine, and other pontifical advocates. Their writings opened the eyes of other European potentates; and the cause of Venice was considered as a common one by all the sovereign states of Italy; and the dukes of Urbino, Modena, and Savoy, offered their troops to assist the republic. Instigated by the ambassadors of Britain and Holland, the Venetians had once serious thoughts of a withdrawalment from Rome. But some political considerations, and, it seems, the advice of Sarpi, who was revered as an oracle, prevented this step. Perhaps informed hereof, the pontiff, while he levied troops to attack them, employed Henry the Great of France to mediate between him and them. A reconciliation, not to the papal honour, was concluded; since which the papal bulls have no more force at Venice, than the senate think fit to allow them.

Sebastian,

Sebastian, king of Portugal, instigated by the pope, having, in his mad expedition against the Moors in Africa, in 1584, got himself, and almost all the brave men of his flourishing kingdom cut off, Philip of Spain, being the most powerful relation, seized upon it. Nothing of his engagements were observed by him or his successors: but in forty years, about two hundred millions of crowns were extorted by the Spanish oppressors, and their trade was abandoned to the will of the Dutch. In 1640, John duke of Braganza, a nearer heir, presumed to assert his right, and was chosen king. For fear of offending the Spanish court, who had threatened his Holiness with a revolt if he countenanced the Portuguese, pope Urban VIII. and his immediate successors, refused to acknowledge John's claim to the kingdom, and to confirm the bishops he had nominated. A considerable part of the kingdom continuing for a long time without bishops pontifically empowered to officiate, the French, and other courts, advised John to call a national council for the confirmation of his bishops. But the incredible superstition of his subjects, their blind attachment to the person and authority of the pope, and the formidable power of the inquisition, deterred him from following their advice. The papal attempts to enlarge his power, were nevertheless opposed with vigour. At last, in 1666, a peace was concluded with Spain; and the pope confirmed the bishops.

Lewis XIV. and his Frenchmen, were more untractable. An almost uninterrupted misunderstanding had long subsisted between the popes and the kings of France, or the parliaments of Paris, which had more than once issued in an open rupture. The popes of this century, assisted by the Jesuites, exerted their whole power and skill to conquer the Gallican aversion at their authority, and to ruin the distinguished liberties of their church.

The parliament of Paris disconcerted all their schemes. Richer, Launoy, Peter de Marca, Natalis Alexander, and Ellis Dupin, and other learned doctors, bravely exposed the injustice of the pontifical claims; though, to the scandal of their nation, they were too often rewarded with marks of displeasure, to gratify the enraged pope. But when Lewis found his own honour attacked, he convinced the world he was no papal dupe. When in 1662, the Corsican guards of Alexander VII. provoked by the French, and perhaps instigated by the pope's nephews, insulted the duke of Crequi, the French ambassador, and his lady, Lewis demanded satisfaction. His Holiness delaying to grant it, Lewis ordered his troops to march for Italy, and besiege him in his capital. Terrified with these preparations, Alexander implored the mercy of Lewis, and had his pardon granted him upon the most inglorious terms, viz. that his nephews should repair to Paris, and ask the forgiveness of Lewis; that the Corsican guards should be broken, and publicly branded with infamy, and their whole nation rendered incapable to serve at Rome; and in fine, that a pyramid should be erected at Rome, with an inscription commemorating the manner, in which Lewis had chastised pontifical insolence. But about thirty years after, this pyramid was demolished, along with that commemorating the conversion of Henry IV.

In 1678, Lewis insisted, that all the churches in his dominions should be subjected to the order called the *Regale*; by which the king, on the death of a bishop, had the revenues of the see, and the power of collating all the benefices belonging to it, till another bishop was elected. Innocent XI. contended, that this could not be universally granted. After some milder contestation, Innocent issued forth his bulls and mandates, upon the one side; while, on the other, Lewis issued forth penal laws against



against such as regarded them. When Innocent refused to confirm the bishops of Lewis's nomination, of whom thirty-eight were at once uncon-  
firmed, Lewis took care to have them consecrated and installed by other bishops. When Innocent threatened Lewis with the vengeance of Heaven, if he persisted in his obstinate measures, Lewis, in 1682, called a council at Paris, of thirty-five bishops, and as many deputies of inferior orders; which solemnly declared the papal power to be merely spiritual, and inferior to that of a general council; and that his decisions are not infallible, but when attended with the consent of such a council; that all the rights of the French church ought to be preserved inviolable, and the regale to be extended to every church in the kingdom. These decisions were inculcated upon the universities, and whole body of the Gallican clergy, as a sacred and inviolable rule of their faith. Cardinal Sfondrati, and a multitude of Italian, German, and Spanish doctors, sprung forth to support the pontiff's tottering authority, and to decry the court of France. The reply of the celebrated Bossuet more than sufficiently answered them all; but Lewis coming to an agreement with the pope, it was not published till long after, in 1730.

In 1687, Innocent and Lewis, who heartily hated one another, fell into a new contest. As the ambassadors right of protecting persons at Rome had so often proved a sanctuary to the vilest malefactors, Innocent resolved to suppress it. Lavardin, the French ambassador, refused to part with his lawless right, and Lewis took all the violent methods he could to oblige his Holiness to restore it; and Innocent as proudly refused to yield, or to consecrate the thirty new bishops which Lewis had nominated. After Innocent's death, Lewis put up matters with his more pliable successors. The right of *asylum* was suppressed with Lewis's consent. The right

right of the regale was modified ; and the decisions of the Gallican council were softened, if not, by Lewis's orders, confessed to be faulty, in the letters of some of the bishops who enacted them to the pope. But they still remain a part of the laws of that kingdom. In fine, however basely the pope was flattered in France, and however some of his noted opposers might be sacrificed to his pleasure ; it is pretty evident, that his Holiness has no more power in France than formerly ; that their court yield or oppose, cajole or threaten him by turns, as is best calculated to promote their political interests.

Notwithstanding of their papal centre of unity, and their much boasted uniformity and invariableness in religion, plenty of contentions still subsisted or commenced among the Catholics ; of which we shall only mention the disputes that made the most considerable noise. In 1601, Clement VIII. was on the point of giving sentence against the Jesuites, and in favours of the Dominicans, with respect to the influences of God's grace, predestination, human liberty, and original sin ; when the former, by their importunity and artifice, procured a re-examination of the doctrines of Molina. Clement appointed for that purpose a congregation of fifteen cardinals, nine professors of divinity, and five bishops. In three years they held seventy-eight meetings, for hearing of parties, and examination of their respective proofs. Clement's death in 1605, prevented his giving his decision ; and both parties pretended, it would have been in their favours. The deliberations were for some time continued under Paul V. ; but king Henry of France, and Philip of Spain, taking the part of the Jesuites, his Holiness shifted coming to a decision ; and instead thereof, it seems, advised both parties to modify their expressions, that the Jesuites.

Jesuites might not seem to adopt the Pelagian sentiments, nor the Dominicans these of the Protestant heretics. It is certain, that Aquaviva, the Jesuitical general, addressed a letter to these of his order, modifying the doctrine of Molina, and requiring them to teach in like manner; but to give up no point to the Dominicans;—and that the Dominicans have ever since manifested less zeal against the doctrine of the Jesuites; and that the enmity between the two parties has considerably subsided.

Though the pontiff had hushed this affair, and prohibited to publish the records of the examinations thereof, yet the same dispute afterwards broke forth in a new shape. About 1640, and after the death of Jansenius, a learned and pious bishop of Ipres in Flanders, his work relative to Augustine's doctrine of God's grace was published. Therein Jansenius did not pretend to deliver his own sentiments, but these of that venerable saint, so much revered in the Roman church. In 1641, the holy inquisition prohibited the perusal thereof; and next year, Urban the pontiff solemnly condemned it, as tainted with several errors, which had been banished from the church. Regardless of this redoubled condemnation, the doctors of Louvain, and other places in the Netherlands, with great ardour, defended the cause of Jansenius. In France, the abbot of St Cyran, Arnaud, Nicoli, Pascal, Quesnel, and others of Port-Royal, and sundry bishops, took his part. Multitudes, who judged real piety to consist in an inward temper of mind, rather than in the observance of external rites, did the same. Terrible contention ensued. While the Jesuites supported their cause with papal and royal decrees, with the influence of prelates and nobles, and with plenty of sophistry and reproach, the Jansenists supported theirs with prodigious learning and eloquence, apparent



apparent piety, manifestation of uncommon zeal against the Protestants, and the taking of extraordinary pains to instruct their fellows of mankind in learning and virtue. To these they added a vast number of miracles said to be wrought in their favours; particularly in 1656, 1661, 1664, 1725, 1727, and 1731. The forgery of the miracles of the last date, said to be wrought at the tomb of abbe Paris, a Jansenist, who had finished his life with his austerities, in healing of diseases, and in filling men with the Holy Ghost, was so plainly detected, that, it is hoped, they will no further insist upon that kind of proof.

It seems, that Urban, and Innocent X. his successor, would have gladly hushed this dispute, in the manner Paul had done in the beginning of the century; but the fury of the French bishops, who generally favoured the Jesuites, threw all into confusion. Prompted by Jesuitical influence, they extracted from Jansenius's book the following propositions, That perfection in holiness is unattainable in this life; that the saving operations of God's grace upon the human heart cannot be resisted and overcome; that nothing but liberty or freedom from constraint, is necessary to render mens actions rewardable or punishable; that man's will of itself cannot receive the assistant influence of God's preventing grace; that Christ died not for all mankind, but only for his elect people. These opinions they remitted to Rome, for a pontifical condemnation. Notwithstanding all that many of the distinguished Gallican clergy could do, Innocent, in 1653, condemned the first four of the above propositions as heretical, and the last as rash, impious, and injurious to God. The Jansenists thought to evade this bull, by pretending, that the condemned propositions were not therein charged upon Jansenius. But their restless opposers persuaded Alexander VII. to declare, in 1656, that these

these five propositions were the very tenets of Jansenius contained in his book. In 1665, he remitted to France a *declaration* to be subscribed by all the dignified clergy, which affirmed, that these five propositions were contained in Jansenius's work, in the very sense in which they had been condemned by his Holiness. This step, odious to the wiser part of the Gallican clergy, even though not on the Jansenist side, produced terrible confusions in France. While the Jesuites extolled the papal infallibility in matters of fact, as well as of doctrine, and furiously promoted the subscription, the Jansenists insisted, that his infallibility extended only to matters of doctrine; and only to these, when it is confirmed by the consent of a general council. Some offered to observe a profound silence; but declared they could not subscribe the pontifical formula; others offered to subscribe it, if allowed to explain the sense in which they took it. Several other methods were devised to evade the subscription of the tyrannical formula. But nothing less than the entire ruin of their opposers could satisfy the Jesuites, who had pope, king, and counsellors, on their side. Whoever in the least opposed the declaration, were cast into prison, or otherwise persecuted. The bishops of Angers, Beauvois, Pamiers, and Alet, boldly refused to subscribe, unless with proper explications and distinctions. When his Holiness threatened to excommunicate them, nineteen other bishops of France adopted their cause, in a solemn remonstrance addressed to Clement, and to Lewis XIV. Ann Genevieve of Bourbon, duchess of Longueville, a Jansenist devotee, also implored the pontifical clemency on their behalf. Moved with these remonstrances, and other considerations, Clement allowed the scrupulous doctors, to sign the declaration, with whatever mental interpretation they thought proper to give it: whereupon the Jansenists returned

ed from their exile and their lurking-places, to resume their stations in the church. Instigated by the Jesuites, king Lewis, in 1676, declared, that the above indulgence was merely temporary; and the duchess of Longueville being dead, it was totally abolished in 1679; and the persecution of the Jansenists renewed. Arnaud their principal doctor fled to Holland; where, by his eloquence and influence, he gained all the Catholics of that country, and of the Netherlands, to his side; and many of them resolutely adhered thereto.

Not only their adherence to the doctrines of Augustine, but also their recommending and exemplifying a more strict manner of life, and their insisting, that true piety doth not consist in external acts of devotion, but in inward holiness and divine love; and that men ought to be instructed in the knowledge of the scriptures, and allowed to peruse them in their own language, drew upon the Jansenists the fury of their Jesuitical opposers. The system of the Jansenists was rational in the main; but the abbe of St Cyran, and the nuns of Port-Royal, added thereto an enthusiastic tincture, which gave their crafty adversaries an advantage against them. As the nuns refused to subscribe Alexander's declaration, and as their convent was an hiding-place to not a few of the party, when persecuted, and the resort of penitent multitudes, who built houses for themselves around it; Lewis, prompted by the Jesuites, after much harassment of the nuns, did, in 1709, demolish the monastery, dug up the bones of such devotees as had been there interred, and transported them to some other place.

Pasquier Quesnel, a priest of the oratory, published his French translation of the New Testament, attended with practical notes. Noailles, Bossuet, and other learned men, highly approved it. After there had been about thirty years wrangling concerning it, the court of Rome in 1708 passed a general sentence



tence of condemnation against it. This being found ineffectual to compose the dispute, Clement XI. who had once highly extolled it as an almost incomparable work, did, in his bull *Unigenitus*, &c. of 1713, condemn one hundred and one particular propositions of the notes, such as, That the grace of Christ is the effectual principle of all good works; that in order of nature, faith is the first grace, and the fountain of all others; that there can be no true religion without charity; and that the scripture ought to be read by all, &c. This bull, procured by Lewis, and his Jesuitical friends, occasioned terrible commotions in France, which have scarce subsided to this day. Forty of the Gallican bishops accepted of it; but it was opposed by many others, especially by Noailles, now archbishop of Paris. Not a few of the prelates appealed from the papal authority, to that of a general council. Fearful was the persecution of these opposers, and many of them were obliged to flee their country. At last the parliament of Paris ratified the bull, and most of the clergy gave it a silent submission. The Jansenists, one of whose principal ornaments was the great Rollin, continued to adhere to their principles, and were often persecuted on account thereof. The late expulsion of the Jesuites from France, and almost every where else, lessened the number and power of their enemies. But the bulk of the secular clergy appear still to oppose them.

The ancient debate between the followers of Francis and Dominic, concerning the sinless conception of Mary, occasioned terrible confusions in Spain, and unspeakable vexation to the pontiffs, particularly Paul V. Gregory XV. and Alexander VII. Prompted by repeated remonstrances from the Spanish court, who favoured the Franciscans, and the sinless conception, Alexander declared, that they had high degrees of probability on their side; and prohibited all further disputation

on that point. In 1709, Clement XI. appointed the feast of the sinless conception, to be observed in the whole Romish church. But the Dominicans maintained, this did not extend unto them; and they, with modesty and circumspection, continued to defend their ancient tenet. Nor do we know of their being in the least troubled for disregarding the pontifical edict.

But the Mystics or *Quietists*, instead of their former honour, were persecuted with no small severity. Michael Molinos, a Spanish priest, who resided at Rome, published his Spiritual guide about 1670. It underwent several editions in Italy and Spain, ere it was much quarrelled; and afterwards was translated into the French, Dutch, and Latin. Molinos pretended, that the whole of religion consists in a calm tranquillity of the mind centered upon God himself alone, and in a pure and disinterested love of him, independent of all prospect of reward. The Jesuites, and other zealots for the Romish religion, which was supposed chiefly to consist in the external observance of human, and often idolatrous rites, in order to merit everlasting happiness, considered his description of true religion, as a tacit condemnation of the Roman: and about 1681, openly condemned his opinion. The Spanish inquisition were among the most forward in this persecuting work. The French ambassador, offended with some opposition Molinos had made to him in the Romish court, commenced a violent prosecution of him as an heretic. Molinos, abandoned of all his friends, was condemned and imprisoned in 1685, and all the copies of his book were ordered to be publicly burnt. About two years after, he was forced to make a solemn abjuration of his errors, and then shut up in perpetual imprisonment, till his death in 1696.

While his enemies charged his doctrines with licentious consequences he never intended, his friends extolled his mystical whims, as if they had been immediate revelations from God. In Italy, Spain, France,

France, and the Netherlands, he had a multitude of followers; but many of whose sentiments differed from his. Perhaps the French camizars, or prophets, whose infection spread into England and Scotland, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, were but a branch of them, who carried their enthusiasm to the most extravagant degree. His most remarkable disciples were cardinal Patrucci and Francis de la Combe. None made more noise than the devout Madam Gyon, who deriving all her ideas from her own heart, published them in a variety of tracts. Her Bible, with annotations relative to the hidden life, consisting of twenty volumes, was not published till 1715. But in 1687, her religious fancies had begun to be noticed. After they had been pronounced unsound, by severals of an eminent character for learning and piety, Bossuet of Meaux, in 1697, published a formal confutation thereof. He desired an approbation of his work, from Fenelon archbishop of Cambray.

Instead hereof, Fenelon openly declared, that Madam Gyon had been egregiously wronged and misrepresented, by such as pretended to confute her opinions. He published a tract, without his name, wherein he adopted some of Madam's sentiments, and particularly, the mystical doctrine of disinterested love to God. This he explained with the most charming eloquence, and confirmed by the authority of not a few of the most remarkable and pious doctors of the Romish church. Bossuet, who beheld with grief the eminent talents and rising fame of Fenelon, as an obstacle to his glory, left no method untried to mortify his illustrious rival. He at once implored the aid of the pontiff, and of Lewis the Great; and by importunity and stratagem, obtained a papal decree, condemning twenty-three propositions of Fenelon's book, without naming its author. Meekness of temper, and averseness to strife, if not also cowardice



dice and fear of danger, prompted Fenelon to declare his acquiescence in the decision, read it to his people at Cambray, and exhort them to submit thereto. It is certain, however, that he continued in his mystical opinions till he died.

The affair of Peyrere, who taught, that men were created on this earth long before Adam; and who apostatized from the Protestants, in order to save his life; of Richard Smith, titular bishop of Chalcedon, but appointed to rule the English Catholics; of Thomas Whyte, who so oft contradicted his pontifical brethren; of Peter God, titular bishop of Sebaste, but governor of the Catholics in Holland, the prosecution of whom for Jansenism, occasioned a lasting rent among these under his care; of the frantic Borri; of Sfondrati's book on predestination, which, though intended to terminate all differences on that head, offended both parties; of Arnauld's treatise on frequent communion; of Mary of Agreda's fabulous life of the blessed Virgin; and a variety of particular contests relative to the power of popes and kings, scarce deserve a place in this work.

In the present century, the state of the Popish church continues much the same as in the seventeenth; only the Jesuitical supporters of pontifical majesty, are of late expelled from Portugal, France, Spain, and other places of his Holiness's dominions, which probably occasions an increase of them in the Protestant countries. The papal power is chiefly regarded in Portugal and Spain. It is much circumscribed in France. The king has a power to convene provincial or national councils. The pope's legate-a-latere cannot enter France, or the resident of Avignon execute his commission, without the royal permission. Nor can the Gallican bishops, though cited by the pope, depart the country without it. The pope can levy no tax upon ecclesiastic preferments, without the order of the  
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the king, and consent of the clergy. The pope cannot depose or excommunicate the king, nor absolve any subjects from their allegiance; nor can he excommunicate the king's officers, for any thing done in the discharge of their functions. Nor can he, or his delegates, judge of any privilege belonging to the king. Nor are counts palatine made by the pope, acknowledged as such in France. The king may punish his ecclesiastic officers for their misbehaviour, in their respective charges; and in case his Holiness refuse to invest a Frenchman with any benefice in France, the parliament of Paris may order the bishop of the diocese to invest him. The pope cannot allow the French clergy to bequeath the issue of their preferments, contrary to the laws and customs of the realm; he cannot grant the enjoyment of any estate or revenue, or allow the alienation of church-lands, without the royal consent. None may hold a benefice, unless he be a native, or naturalized, or have a special dispensation for that purpose. The pope is inferior to a general council; cannot dispense with the law of God and of nature, or the body of canon law sent by pope Adrian to Charles the Great; and which alone the French have received in an unlimited manner. The pope cannot collate any benefice in France, but with the king's permission; nor are the regulations of the apostolical chamber or court, obligatory on the Gallican church, unless confirmed by the king's edicts. These liberties the French pretend to have alway maintained; and their kings at their coronation swear to maintain them.

A summary of the Popish worship and creed has been given under the sixteenth century. To describe the whole of their ceremonies, would require a work by itself. According to their canons, the altar is of one stone, supported by pillars, and is covered with a chrismal of fine white cloth; and has three steps to go up to it, all covered with a

carpet. On the high altar, the consecrated wafer is generally lying in a box. A curious crucifix is also erected, wax candles burning on the right and left side; and there hangs a little bell to be rung at the *Sanctus*, the kneeling of the priest, and elevation of the host. This altar, and its furniture of chalice, cruets, basons, &c. must be all consecrated with strange cringing, blessing, &c. and is inclosed with a rail. The daily service consists of prayers, and holy lessons, divided into seven or eight canonical hours, *viz.* mattins for night; lauds for the morning; prime, tierce, sexte, and none for the day; vespers, and compline for the evening. In their religious service, the habits of the pope, and his underlings, are exceedingly diversified, according to the occasion, place, and the like.

In the mass, when they come to the offering, the profane are ordered to depart. The priest approaches the altar; says a preparatory prayer; makes confession for himself and the people; kisses the altar, and then perfumes it with incense; the *introite* is sung. The priest thrice over cries, *Lord, have mercy upon us*; turns about to, and blesses the people; reads the epistle relative to Jesus' accusation before Pilate; bows before the altar; prays for the cleansing of the heart. The gradual is sung; the priest having read the history of our Saviour's going from Herod to Pilate, the gospel is carried from the right to the left side of the altar, to denote its coming to the Gentiles. The priest uncovers the cup; after kissing the altar, he lifts up the host or wafer, and then the cup; after having washed his fingers, and declared Jesus innocent, the priest bids the people come pray, and prays to the Trinity with a muttering voice. After another prayer to the Father, the *Sanctus* or holy holy is sung. The priest prays for the faithful; covers the host and chalice with a cloth;

and



and makes the sign of the cross upon them; adores the host; and then lifts it up; repeats the Lord's prayer with his arms extended, in the figure of a cross; consecrates the cup, and elevates it; prays for the souls in purgatory; and smites his breast, and prays for himself, and the congregation, chiefly begging a place in paradise; elevates the host; repeats the *per omnia*, and the Lord's prayer; makes the sign of the cross on the host, cup, and altar; prays privately for peace to himself, through the mediation of the virgin Mary, and the saints; breaks a wafer; puts a bit of it into the cup; after the *Agnus Dei* is sung, the priest secretly prays for the peace of the church. The box in which the wafers are, is kissed by the priest and the people. While the people bestow the adoring kifs, the priest says other two prayers. After the priest has with a rehearsal of words peculiar to himself, communicated in both elements, he administers the wafers to the people. After the ablution, or mixture of the wine with water, attended with two short prayers, the priest sings the *post communion*, or prayer for a good effect of the sacrament; salutes the people in the name of Christ; reads the beginning, and the twentieth of John; prays, and dismisses the people with a solemn blessing, attended with several antic ceremonies. All these ceremonies mentioned, are pretended to signify some event, relative to our Saviour's apprehending, suffering, resurrection, and ascension.

When the whole ceremonies are performed, the priest being assisted by a deacon and subdeacon, and with choristers, it is called *high mass*. When the prayers are barely rehearsed without singing, and there is no deacon or subdeacon, nor much ceremony, it is called *low mass*. Of ordinary masses, some are celebrated for delivering souls out of purgatory; some on their death-beds leaving a stock to procure twenty or thirty thousand masses of this kind.

kind, for their recovery. Other masses of the *private* or *votive* kind, are for the recovery of stolen goods, for health, for travellers, and for mercies received. When the cup is not used, as at sea, it is called a *dry mass*. When a bishop celebrates mass with his clergy, a multitude of other rites are added : and when his Holiness himself is present, the ceremonious fooleries are still more splendid and numerous. It is pretended, that the people are at no loss, that they do not understand the language in the service, as all that God requires of them is, to assist at that sacrifice with attentive devotion.

To describe the solemn procession on *Good-Friday*, in which they have sometimes one that hires himself to represent our buffeted Saviour, and is secured of salvation if he die of his wounds; their *prone* or *homily*; their use of *beads*, to regulate the order of their *Ave Marias*; their veneration of reliques; their miracles performed before the images of the saints; their carrying of the *cross* or *crucifix* before the pontiff, on a variety of public occasions; the efficacy of the sign of the cross, and the adoration thereof; the consecration of crosses, holy water, salt, pontifical robes, images, bells, and the like; their exorcisms; their burning of lamps before the faintly images; their votive gifts, hung around their altars; their burning of incense upon their altars, so that in some principal churches the numerous streams of perfuming smoke, almost fill the place; would but tire the patience of our readers.

### S E C T. III.

*The history of the Lutheran church.*

WHERE the sovereigns were Popish, the Lutheran church stood her ground more or less openly.

ly the best way she could. Ernest, baron of Wells, formed a plan for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, but it was never carried into execution; and though some have since that time carried the Lutheran profession into Asia, Africa, and America, yet on the main, the Lutheran church has rather lost ground than gained it, ever since the middle of the sixteenth century; some returning to the Romish idolatry, and others entering into the communion of the Reformed, as shall hereafter be related.

About the beginning of this century, logics and metaphysics were almost the only philosophy taught in the Lutheran schools. But by degrees they contracted a taste for the other branches of literature. As their learning increased, the fame thereof decreased; which was probably owing to a variety of pretenders disgracing it with their stupid and absurd whims. Aristotle's philosophy, sufficiently obscured with superadded scholastic terms and distinctions, reigned at Leipzig, Tubingen, Helmstadt, and Altorf, and in most of the other academies of the Lutheran church. But its honour was on the decline. While Daniel Hoffman, Robert Fludd, Jacob Bechmen, and the Rosicrucian brethren, declaimed against philosophy in general, the followers of Ramus, who had introduced a more sensible system of logics, got the philosophy of the Staggarite banished from several seminaries of learning, and their master's scheme introduced in its stead. The followers of Des Cartes also vehemently decried the labours of Aristotle. While Grotius, that religious mongrel, moderately opposed his system, Puffendorff, the Swede, threw it wholly aside, and thereby drew upon himself a load of the bitterest reproaches. Their works were not the less useful for settling the system of morals upon more proper foundations, than had been generally done in former



mer times. Thomafius, profeffor of law at Leipfic, and afterwards at Hall, without ever examining the Aristotelian fyftem, rejected it, and encouraged others to do the fame, though what he fubftituted in its ftead, of his own production, had no confiderable merit. Towards the end of the century, the Lutherans had almoft wholly burft the philosophical chains, and each dared to think for himfelf. Some commenced Ecclefiaftics, extracting from every feft what they thought beft. The famed, though perhaps infidel Leibnitz, and others, with indefatigable pains, laboured to fearch out truth for themfelves, and to eftablifh philosophy upon the folid foundations of experience and common fenfe. The ruin of Aristotle's credit almoft occafioned the total contempt of the metaphyfis, which had been long reputed the very foundation of philosophy; but Leibnitz reftored them to their due honour.

The almoft perpetual contentions of the Lutheran doftors with the Catholics and the Reformed, occafioned their fpending of their time in fubtle and angry difputes, rather than in explaining the fcriptures, and in teaching the duties of morality. Meanwhile, Glaffius, Tarnovius, Gerard, Hacspan, Calixtus, Erasmus, and Sebastian Schmidts, Calovius, Geier, Schomer, and others, laboured to excellent purpofe, in illuftrating the oracles of Chrift. The Pietiftic controverfy, about the end of the century, occafioned a more clofe attention to the ftudy of fcripture. Some of the Lutheran commentators confined themfelves to indicate the meaning of the words and phrafes of the Holy Ghoft. Others laboured to demonftrate the inexactnefs of other expositions, or applied the texts to illuftrate controverted points of divinity. Some, after an indication of the fenfe, applied it to the direction of practice. Others, in the Cocceian method, went to extremes in hunting for allegories.

In the beginning of the century, fuch as formed  
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theological systems followed the loose method of Melancthon, but expressed themselves in the barbarous language of the schoolmen. George Calixtus introduced a new form, in which he divided the whole of theology into three parts; the end, the subject, and the means of religion. This method, though disrelished by many, was copied with remarkable zeal and emulation, in most of their eminent colleges. As not a few of the more pious were grieved to behold the doctrines of Jesus, still obscured by the metaphysical jargon and distinctions of Aristotle and the schoolmen, Spener, and others excited by his example, about the end of the century, laboured to represent them in a more plain and popular manner. In consequence whereof, their theology has assumed a more graceful aspect. When their language hath become more plain, and their manner more embellished, it is a pity the rage and bitterness of their disputants hath not proportionally subsided. The doctrine of morals was still extremely neglected. Except the popular tracts of Prætorius, Arndt, and Gerard, the two last of whom, their clerical brethren reckoned enthusiasts, concerning the *internal worship of God, and the duties of Christianity*, there did not appear one moral writer of any distinguished merit. But the preachers who handled cases of conscience were peculiarly attended. Calixtus began a system of moral theology, which was finished by his disciples after his death. But it was so perplexed with metaphysical intricacies, that it quickly fell into contempt. Others, stripping morality of these wretched trappings, and assisted by Puffendorf's account of *the law of nature*, digested it into better order, and demonstrated the principles thereof with superior plainness and evidence.

Few or no changes took place in the government, worship, and ceremonies of the Lutheran church;

church; and they scarce had any discipline to be changed either to the better or the worse. Indeed Thomafius, above mentioned, and some others, proposed to have the whole government taken from the furious clergy, and lodged in the hands of the magistrate; and to have a great part of the ceremonies abolished, as reliques of Popery. The many angry debates occasioned by these proposals so exceedingly diminished the credit of the Lutheran clergy, that for a long time past, few persons of illustrious birth, or distinguished talents, have applied to the theological studies; and the number of their wise and learned clergymen hath been long upon the decline.

What clergy they had are generally represented in a most disagreeable light: their leading men as arrogant, contentious, despotic, uncharitable, destitute of Christian plainness and candour, fond of quibbling and dispute, and given to judge of every thing by the spirit of party. The less distinguished, are charged with ignorance, and a shameful neglect of the duties of their function; and almost the whole of them with sloth, avarice, impiety, and corruption of manners. No doubt, the thirty years war in Germany, with the want of discipline, occasioned a shocking corruption among both ministers and people; and some, even of their most pious doctors, imagined, that whomsoever they, in their partial manner, judged enemies to God, ought to be declared enemies to their country, and prosecuted accordingly. Their manner of preaching was too generally wretched enough; and very improper for the instruction of their people, in the truths of the gospel. In many places, the clerical eloquence was reduced to loud bawling, sonorous and empty words, metaphysical niceties, trivial distinctions, with other tawdry and childish ornaments, plainly calculated not to enlighten the mind, awaken the conscience,  
or



or inflame the heart; but to display the preacher's vanity and weakness, to strip the truths of the gospel of their native beauty, and to check their power and influence. As they had so few models of genuine eloquence, and had lost their regard to the sanctifying virtue of the gospel, and real fellowship with God in his worship, it is no wonder both clergy and people were fond of these pitiful trifles.

The rage of the Lutheran clergy for dispute, was still punished with plenty of internal contentions. These relating to *Syncretism* and *Pietism* were of the principal consequence, and involved their whole church in disorder and tumult. Both were occasioned by what was apparently good; the former, by a fraternal love, desirous to promote union and concord with Christian brethren; and the latter, by a laudable zeal to curb licentious manners, and a raging spirit of contention, and instead thereof, to promote solid and practical piety. However good the motives of these concerned were, the affair issued in the most terrible confusions and furious debates.

The affair of *Syncretism*, or *coalescence*, owed its rise to George Calixtus, a divine of Sleswick, but professor of theology at Helmstadt, in the duchy of Brunswick. As that university, from its very foundation, had been remarkable for freedom of sentiment, Calixtus, who had few equals in learning or genius, applied himself to examine the doctrines of the leading parties among Christians; and thought he found things defective or erroneous with each. Hopeless of any proper coalescence, he contented himself with labouring to extinguish the hatred, and appease the resentment of the different sects. As he, and his fellow-professors of Helmstadt, were obliged, by their oath of admission, to do what they could to heal the

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divisions, and terminate the disputes which prevailed among Christians, they gave him no opposition. But Statius Buscher, a furious theologian of Hanover, whom Calixtus had provoked by his opposition to the philosophy of Ramus, attacked him in the most malignant manner; charging him, and his brethren of Helmstadt, as concealed Papists; and exhibiting a long list of errors, whereof, he pretended, Calixtus was guilty. Buscher had passed for a malicious reproacher, if Calixtus had not thereafter declared his sentiments with the utmost freedom and candour, if we might not add, incautious expressions. This drew upon him the fury of the Saxon divines, whom he had provoked, by his obedience to the duke of Brunswick, in attending the Reformed theologians, as their director and counsellor, at the conference of Thorn, in 1645. Hulseman, Weller, Sharpius, Calovius, and others, attacked him with all the arguments and virulence they could, as an apostate to the Reformed and Romish religion, both of which they heartily hated. Till his death, in 1656, Calixtus repulsed all their attacks with uncommon spirit and learning. It no where appears, that he intended to reconcile the Papists and Protestants; but he thought their differences were less important than was imagined, and that they ought to forbear all rage against, and hatred of one another. He maintained, that, in the Lutheran, Reformed, and Popish churches, all the essentials of the Christian religion were retained, though, in the last, some of them were sadly concealed under the rubbish of human inventions. He pretended, that whatever was generally admitted by the primitive church, in the first five centuries, ought to be received as of equal truth and authority with the scripture itself; and that, if the Catholics would abandon all later inventions, the Protestants ought to re-embrace their communion. After all, Bos-

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fuet declares him the most learned of the disputants against Popery. He had also peculiar notions concerning the obscure revelation of the Trinity under the Old Testament, and the appearances of the Son of God during that period ; the necessity of good works to procure salvation ; and God's being occasionally the author of sin. But the fury of the Syncretical dispute made these little considered.

After Calixtus was dead, the Saxon clergy, chiefly Calovius, who heartily hated him, for his benevolent charity to these of other communions, continued to insult his memory with the basest invectives, and the most malignant reproach. They drew up a kind of creed contradicting his opinions, and insisted for adding it to the *symbolical books*, or ecclesiastical standards of orthodoxy ; and that all professors of theology, and candidates for the holy ministry, should be obliged to subscribe it. Thus the new Calixtines were supposed to have forfeited all right to the religious fellowship, or even civil liberties of their Lutheran brethren. While Calovius and Strauchius defended the new creed with intemperate fury, Ulric Calixtus, George's son, attacked it in much the same manner. But Titius, Hildebrand, and others, more meekly supported the memory of the deceased Calixtus ; opposed the reception of the new creed, and shewed the fatal effects it would occasion to the Lutheran church.

These debates continued till near the end of the century, when the death of the principal contenders, the abolishment of the new creed, and the rise of other disputes, suspended them. Musæus, and Henichius, the meek theologians of Rintelen, by the marking of their satisfaction with Calixtus for his moderation, and especially his projecting an union, at least a pacific forbearance between the Lutherans and the Reformed, drew upon them-



felves the rage of the Saxon furies. At Konigberg of Prussia, Laterman, Behmius, and Dreyer, disciples of Calixtus, by discovering an attachment to his sentiments, drew upon themselves the vengeance of their clerical brethren. In the university of Jena, Solomon Glaffius, remarkable for the mildness of his temper, and the equity of his conduct, composed an examination of what was said on both sides. It was published, after his death, in 1662, and exhibits a rare and shining instance of theological moderation. Musæus, his colleague, a man of superior learning and judgment, adopted Calixtus's opinion concerning the necessity of good works to salvation, as true in some sense; and affirmed, that the other errors imputed to him were of little or no consequence. Immediately the Saxon doctors suspected the academy of Jena of erroneous opinions, and marked out Musæus as an apostate from the orthodox faith.

Scarce was the Syncretical controversy hushed, when the *Pietistic* began. The rapid torrent of licentiousness among all ranks, had long grieved the hearts of Gerard, Arndt, Lutkeman, Muller, and others; and they had laboured to check it. For the same purpose, the pious and learned Spener formed some societies at Frankfort on the Maine, for promoting of vital religion, for awakening of lukewarm and indifferent professors, and for animating the zeal of such as silently lamented the progress of impiety. These societies called *Colleges of piety*, were at first greatly applauded; but falling into unskillful hands, they, as was apprehended, too quickly occasioned abuses. Hence, such as hated them, loudly complained, that under an appearance of sanctity, they led people into false notions of religion; and, in such as were of violent tempers, fomented the principles of sedition. The first complaints had been hushed, and the tumults thereby subsided,

subsided, had not the contests of Leipzig in 1689 added fuel to the flame. Frankius, Shadius, and Antony, disciples of Spener, who was now ecclesiastical superintendant in the court of Saxony, began attentively to consider what was defective in the Lutheran method of educating the candidates for the holy ministry; and how it might be corrected. For this purpose, they undertook to explain to the students certain portions of scripture, and to apply them for the promoting of practical piety. Novelty and real usefulness rendered these lectures agreeable and much frequented. Many were thereby deeply impressed with the importance of real religion and virtue. As what was done in these *Biblical* colleges was contrary to custom, rumours concerning it were spread, tumults raised, and animosities kindled. At last the affair was brought to a public trial; and the devout professors were acquitted of the errors laid to their charge. It was during these troubles, that the name of *Pietists* was invented and given to such as attended the Biblical colleges, and lived in a manner suitable to the directions they received. Next it was given to such as, regardless of truth and opinion, were only intent upon practice and experimental feelings. It was also given to persons remarkable for piety and wisdom; and not seldom to such as had their character marked with an enormous mixture of profligacy and enthusiasm.

These commotions quickly spread through the most of the Lutheran church. In almost every city, town, and village, there started up persons of different ranks, who pretended they were animated by a divine impulse to reform the church, and govern her in a new manner. All of them promoted private meetings for the purposes of piety and virtue. These societies were quickly infected with a number of enthusiasts, who assuming the character of prophets, foretold the ruin of Babylon,

by which they meant the Lutheran church; and terrified the people with fictitious visions; revived the doctrines which had been condemned as erroneous; and by their gloomy jargon of language, obscured the truths of God. They moreover pretended, that the thousand years of Christ's reign upon earth with his saints was at hand; and insisted, that the power of preaching should be allowed to every man that pleased, as success in reforming mens morals manifested a divine call to this work; nor had clergymen any reason to be offended, that others made their people holy and sober. What connection these enthusiasts had with the French Camizars, who made a noise about the same time, or with the Popish Quietists, we cannot determine. But to the great joy of the Catholics, the Lutheran church was terribly torn asunder; every where the most violent debates were carried on; and a mere difference of words was sufficient to kindle the most bitter animosity. In many countries, the severest laws were enacted, and edicts published against the Pietists.

The elector of Saxony, in 1686, brought Spener to Dresden, to be one of his preachers, and the superintendant of his church. Spener finding so little hope of benefiting such as had grown up, applied himself to instruct and catechise the youth. This procured him the contempt of his fellow-clergy. The elector too soon wearied of Spener's searching manner of preaching, and his freedom and plainness of reproofs. Spener removed to Berlin, where he, and his assistants, laboured with more safety in promoting practical reformation, without making any change on the doctrine, worship, or government of the church.

Meanwhile, Frankius and Antony, who, to avoid persecution, had removed from Leipsic, to the newly founded university of Hall, where, to the



no small advantage of the Lutheran church, they prosecuted their plan of the religious education of candidates for the ministry. Supposing, that the universal licentiousness which prevailed in the Lutheran church, was much owing to the bad example and influence of the clergy, they laid it down as a fundamental rule, that none should be admitted to the ministry, but such as had proper education, and were distinguished by the prudence and sanctity of their manners, and an inward warmth of divine love. They agreed to lay aside the metaphysical, obscure, and contentious systems of divinity then in vogue, and to substitute in their stead, a plain one, drawn from the scriptures; and that the whole course of the students education should be so directed, as to render them useful in life, by the practical power of their doctrine, and the commanding influence of their example. Their enemies charged them, with decrying of philosophy in general, and with renouncing all care of theological truth, and placing the whole of their divinity in vague and incoherent declamations concerning the duties of morality. Hence arose a multiplicity of disputes relative to the use of philosophy; the importance of human learning; the dignity and usefulness of systematic theology; the necessity of acquaintance with polemic divinity; and the true method of ministers instructing their people. These pious reformers also contended, that candidates for the ministry ought to devote themselves to God in a peculiar manner, and exhibit to others a most striking example of piety and virtue; and that without this last, none were qualified to teach it to others, or guide them in the way to salvation. This occasioned another class of debates; and the Reformers were charged by their enemies, with reviving the Donatist heresy, that ministers wickedness restrains the influence of God's grace. The Reformers thought it improper to teach, that per-

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fection is unattainable in this life ; that good works are not necessary to salvation ; that we are justified by faith alone, without works, lest men should be thereby rendered less diligent in piety and virtue. They also condemned dancing, public sports, theatrical diversions, reading of humorous and comical books, and the like, as unlawful or unseemly for Christians. This introduced a warm dispute, Whether any human actions be indifferent, neither good nor evil ? The Reformers mightily inculcated private societies for prayer and religious conference ; which their opponents reckoned imprudent and dangerous. By printing and dispersing an infinity of German Bibles, New Testaments, and other pious tracts, they not a little revived the regard to religion. By procuring a large fount of types, sufficient to print the whole Bible at once, and retaining them fixed in the frames, to print off copies when they pleased, they reduced the price of New Testaments to about fourpence, and of Bibles to little more than a shilling. They also took the utmost care of the poor and needy, and erected hospitals for them.

Another branch of the Pietists, was for overturning at least a part of the form of the Lutheran church. Arnold looked upon the Mystics as the principal, if not sole depositaries of true wisdom ; and pretended, that the whole of religion consisted in internal feelings and motions. In his large history of the church and of heretics, he lays it down as a principle, that all corruptions have been introduced into the Christian church by her abandoned clergy ; and thence inferred, that such as had opposed the established clergy, were almost all men of distinguished virtue. Hence the most of the heretics are transformed by him into eminent saints, whilst such as favoured the ecclesiastical rulers, or were favoured by them, are represented as destitute of true piety. It is said, he became

became a moderate Lutheran in his old age. Dippelius, the Hessian, a kind of satyric buffoon, disgraced his theological character, and spent his time in farcistical invectives against Christians in general, and the Lutherans in particular. His motley and brain-sick productions occasioned not inconsiderable tumults, about the end of the century. Petersen, pastor of Lunenburg, propagated the doctrine of the carnal millennium, the general restitution of all creatures to happiness, the union of Christ's heavenly and earthly manhood, and the like; and together with his wife, went about prophesying. His fancies were seriously refuted by a considerable number of writers, to whom Petersen returned plenty of elegant and voluminous replies. But whether he, or these who thought fit to dispute with him, were the most delirious, I know not. Caspar Schade, and George Bossius, bitterly inveighed against the Lutheran form of private confession to the clergy. Bossius further contended, that after a certain period, marked in the purpose of God, mens day of grace comes to an end. In this, the renowned Richenberg, professor of theology at Leipzig, and others of inferior note, took part with him, and defended his tenet.

The Syncretic and the Pietistic debates, were not the only ones that troubled the Lutheran church. About *A. D.* 1616, the university-theologians of Gießen and Tübingen disputed, whether our Saviour, during his humiliation, suspended the exertion of his divine perfections, or if he only concealed it from the view of men. After plenty of furious disputation, the elector caused them refer the matter to his Saxon divines. In 1624, they gave an ambiguous and vague determination, but rather in favours of the doctors of Gießen, who maintained the *suspension*. These of Tübingen rejected their decision; and, had not the rage of war hindered, so probably would these of Gießen.

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Rathman, pastor of Dantzick, having expressed himself in some uncouth phrases, relative to the necessity of the influences of the Holy Ghost, to render the external word of God effectual upon mens souls, occasioned a contest, that spread through the whole Lutheran church. The Saxons, with many others, following their example, condemned him with their ordinary virulence : but not a few, struck with the lustre of his piety, and persuaded of the innocence of his doctrine, espoused his cause. After his death, the animosity of the parties gradually subsided.

It is scarce worth our while to mention the personal contests which happened among the Lutherans ; the rage of some of their clergy against Prætorius, and John Arndt, on account of their warm expressions relative to piety ; or against Valentine Weigelius, for his whimsical extracts deduced from his chymical philosophy. Nor could it be more edifying to enlarge upon the history of Jacob Behm, the fanatic tailor, to whose visionary system, the late William Law of England was a credulous dupe ; or of the enthusiastic prophets, Drabicius, Cotter, and Poniatovia, so much extolled by Comnenus and Jurieu ; or of Seidelius, the Silesian, and his few followers, who rejecting all the books of the New Testament, pretended the Messiah was not come, and that his only office would be to explain and republish the law of nature ;—or of some other fanatical troublers of the Lutheran quiet.

In this eighteenth century, the unwearied labours of the Danish missionaries, among the Heathen Indians on the coasts of Malabar, has enlarged the bounds and numbers of the Lutheran church. In and since 1730, about 20,000 of the Saltzburgers embraced the Lutheran religion, and to avoid the fury of their Bavarian persecutors,

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left their country, and settled in Holland, British America, but chiefly in the dominions of his Prussian majesty.

Regard to the Confession of Augsburg, and their ancient rules of government, has rendered it almost impossible for the Lutheran church to alter her ecclesiastical standards. But the method of explaining their doctrines and rules is changed not a little. About the beginning of this century, an artless simplicity bid fair to have reigned, and philosophical terms, and abstract reasoning in divinity, were laid aside by most, as tending to obscure the truths of the gospel. But this taste quickly changed to the worse; as the doctors imagined, the truths of Christ could not maintain their ground, except they were supported by philosophy, and exhibited and proven in a geometrical order. These who, in the end of the preceding century, had begun to revise and correct the ecclesiastical laws, carried on their work with the utmost assiduity and spirit. But many, especially of the clergy, apprehending their new form would render religion entirely subservient to the purposes of the civil policy, warmly opposed the design. The increasing liberty of sentiment, prompted Tenhart, Uberfeldt, Rosenbach, Bredel, Seizius, Gichtelius, Roemeling, and many other fanatics, to commence preachers and reformers. By their crude, and pretendedly inspired fancies, many were decoyed from the communion of the church; and disagreeable contests were occasioned. Not a few imagined, the application of the metaphysics, as refined by Leibnitz and Wolfius, to illustrate the truths of religion, tended to render theology contemptible. One Schmidt, an adept of the new metaphysics, undertook a German translation of the Bible agreeable thereto; and prefixed to it a system of his divinity, drawn up in geometrical order, which was to serve him as a guide in his expository work. But he had scarce published

published the five books of Moses, when he was found to have explained away the passages relating to Jesus Christ, and applied them to some other object. He was brought before the imperial diet, and cast into prison, but he escaped by flight.

The controversies of the Pietists, and concerning the eternity of hell-torments, Christ's personal reign upon earth with the saints for a thousand years, the final restitution of all intelligent beings, and concerning the rites and obligations of marriage, the proper grounds of divorce, and the nature and guilt of concubinage, have been carried on with plenty of ardour. Fabricius, professor of divinity at Helmstadt, pretending that the differences between the Lutherans and Papists were not such as ought to hinder a reconciliation, occasioned warm debates. Matthew Pfaff, and several other divines, revived the project of an union with the Reformed. But their Lutheran brethren most eagerly opposed every such attempt, pretending that the Reformed had opened the door of church-communion so wide, that Christians of every denomination might enter.

To this day the Lutherans maintain, that the flesh and blood of our Saviour are present in, with, and under the bread and wine in the eucharist, and are corporally received by the communicants; that by virtue of its union to the divine, his human nature is rendered every where present, almighty, omniscient, and adorable; that God inclines to have all men saved; that election to eternal life is founded upon the condition of foreseen faith and obedience; that Christ died for all and every one of mankind; that true believers may apostatize fully and finally from grace; that the grace of regeneration is infallibly connected with the ceremonies of baptism; that baptism being necessary to salvation, laics, and even women, may administer that ordinance in case of necessity; that exorcism is necessary in baptism; that



that the breaking of the bread in the eucharist may be omitted; that wafers ought to be used instead of bread, and by the minister put into the mouth of every communicant; that the eucharist, except when administered privately to the sick, ought always to be dispensed from an altar, and by a priest in white vestments; that private confession of sin to the priest is necessary before the communion; that at the mention of the name JESUS, every hearer ought to bow or uncover his head; that in Christian churches images may be tolerated as means of instruction, and organs ought to be used in the praises of God. But whatever relates to the deification of Christ's manhood, or approaches towards the Arminian doctrine, is not to be found in the works of Luther.

## S E C T. IV.

*The history of the Reformed church.*

IN this age, the Reformed church received divers enlargements. In several parts of the Lutheran dominions, the French, German, and British Reformed, began to be allowed their liberty of worshipping God in their own manner. About 1603, Maurice, landgrave of Hesse, a prince of uncommon penetration and learning, embraced the Reformed doctrine, worship, and discipline; and not without difficulty, and perhaps some violence, introduced the same into his dominions. The obstinacy of the Lutheran clergy provoked him to remove them from the university of Marburg, and from their churches in his territory. In 1614, Sigismund elector of Brandenburg, renounced the Lutheran model, and embraced the sentiments of Calvin, except what related to absolute predestination, and the irresistible efficacy of God's saving

grace. He introduced the Reformed doctrine, worship, and discipline into his dominions. But left his subjects at their liberty, whether to continue Lutherans, or to follow his example; and appointed that no distinction should be made between the two parties, on account of their principles; and that the clergy should forbear all mutual reproach, and all introduction of their disputes into the public worship; or, at most, touch thereupon with great modesty and charity. He appointed some Lutheran rites offensive to the Reformed to be laid aside. Provoked with the loss of these superstitious trifles, the furious part of the Lutheran doctors began their uncharitable debates, which issued in confusions and tumults. Meanwhile the Saxon theologians, chiefly the professors of Wittemberg, with great virulence and acrimony, undertook the defence of the Lutheran cause. Sigismund, provoked with their officiousness, suppressed the Torgaw Form of Concord in his dominions; and prohibited all his subjects to study divinity at the university of Wittemberg.

About the same time, Adolphus duke of Holstein embraced the sentiments of Calvin; but his death in 1616, prevented his subjects from following his example. In 1688, Henry duke of Saxony, probably instigated by his duchess, entered into the communion of the Reformed.—About the beginning of the century, numbers in Denmark were in heart inclined to the Calvinist system, and could not digest the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. Hemmingius, and other disciples of Melancthon, encouraged them. But Canut, bishop of Gottenberg, who had plainly manifested his attachment to them, being deposed on that account, their credit sunk, and their expectations evanished.

The Dutch carried their religion into their East-Indian settlements; in which it is said they have

about

about five or six hundred thousand Christians, mostly converts from Heathenism, or their children. The English also carried their religion into their settlements. But except what the Puritans have done in the spread of the gospel in New England, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and places about, the conversions of the English are little better than these of the Catholics. The principal object of their zeal seems to have been the spread of Episcopal government and superstition. At Calcutta all kinds of false worship, the most direct of the devil not excepted, are tolerated: but no Presbyterian is allowed to enjoy their public worship, unless their preacher put on a surplice. In 1649, the English parliament committed the care of the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, to a select society; which, in 1661, was re-established. This society hath been at no inconsiderable expence in transmitting useful books to foreign countries, in their own language; or in assisting missionaries to preach the gospel among the Heathen: but the missions are too often intrusted with unfit hands. A second society was established by king William in 1701; but its great aim was to propagate the hierarchy and superstition of the church in the British colonies. The societies of England and Scotland for propagating of Christian knowledge, by the erection of a vast number of schools in Wales, the Highlands of Scotland, &c. and by spreading of religious books, have been considerably useful. The church of New England was founded by these Puritans who fled thither from the persecution of Charles I. and Laud his great agent; and founded a church quite Calvinistical in her doctrine and worship, but independent or congregational in her form of government. Multitudes of eminent ministers and Christians have appeared therein. But severe have been their trials



and harassments from their Heathen neighbours, and from the bigotted Episcopalians of England.

The most prudent of the Lutheran and Reformed communions, beheld with grief the unchristian animosity between such as with equal fortitude opposed the tyranny and idolatry of Rome, and the damage done to the cause of truth by means thereof. As it was evidently in vain to attempt a coalition, they laboured to demonstrate, that as there was no difference in any fundamental point of religion, they ought to live together as brethren. The Reformed doctors, almost to a man, looked on the differences to be mere mistakes of their Lutheran brethren, about things circumstantial, and wished for union, or at least concord. Most of the Lutherans regarded the differences as very important, and continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of reconciliation. This the Reformed branded with the name of arrogance, morose obstinacy, and the like. The Lutherans were never behind them in uncharitableness or virulent reproaches; and pretended, that they disingenuously disguised their sentiments under ambiguous terms; and in their desire of union, were chiefly influenced by motives of carnal interest.

In 1615, king James I. of England employed Peter du Moulin, the celebrated French divine, to bring about a reconciliation. The attempt was quite unsuccessful. Nor did James shew any proper steadiness in what he had begun with so great appearance of zeal. In 1631, the general synod of the French Protestants declared the Lutheran religion free from all pernicious and fundamental errors. Few Lutherans inclined to accept of this peace, so freely offered them. That same year a conference was held at Leipzig, between Hoe, Lyfer, and Hopfner, Saxon divines, on the one hand, and some of the principal Reformed doctors of Hesse Cassel, and Brandenburg, on the other. The Reformed, in the most candid manner, declared their

their opinions, and made unexpected concessions: but the Lutherans, always suspicious of artifice, and probably afraid of the resentment of their furious brethren, durst not acknowledge themselves satisfied; and so the conference issued in nothing. The conference at Thorn, in 1645, did but widen the breach. By appointment of William VI. landgrave of Hesse, a conference was held at Cassel in 1661, between Musæus and Henichius, Lutheran doctors of Rintelen, and Curtius and Heinsius, Reformed theologians of Marburg. This conference ended in a most amicable manner. Both sides declared themselves satisfied, that the differences between the two parties ought not to hinder their Christian union and mutual concord. This pious and peaceable conduct of the Lutheran professors drew upon them the furious resentment of almost all their brethren. In a multitude of tracts published to confute their opinions, and censure their conduct, they were loaded with the most malignant reproach. The princes of Brandenburg made new attempts to unite the two parties in their dominions; but all was in vain. The Lutheran furies hated every appearance of it.

Sundry more private attempts towards a reconciliation were tried. That of John Dury, a Scotchman, was the most noted on the Calvinist side. He was a man of extensive learning, solid piety, and universal benevolence; but somewhat tinctured with mysticism, and perhaps deficient in accuracy of judgment, and nicety of discerning. From 1631 to 1674, he, amidst reproaches, vexations, and distresses innumerable, travelled through the Protestant countries, dealt with magistrates and ministers to bestir themselves, in effectuating the desired reconciliation. His undertaking was generally applauded, and he had a civil reception; but few inclined to lend him their assistance. Some Lutherans pretending him deficient in openness and candour, suspected his

intention to decoy them into a snare, attacked him from the press with the sharpest invectives, and most virulent reproach. At last, rejected by the Lutherans, neglected by the Calvinists, exhausted with unsuccessful fatigue, and dispirited with injurious treatment, he spent the poor remains of his life in obscurity at Cassel. On the Lutheran side, the most noted pacificators were, John Matthiæ, bishop of Stregnes in Sweden, and Calixtus of Helmstadt. Matthiæ's writings were, by the royal edict, condemned and suppressed, and himself was obliged to resign his bishopric, and live in obscurity. What resentment of brethren Calixtus drew upon himself, by his pacific attempts, has been already related.

'The progress of learning among the Reformed was amazingly rapid. Every where, numbers honoured their nation and church with literary productions of merit. Notwithstanding all the bigotted clergy could do to retain the philosophy of Aristotle, its credit gradually decreased, especially in France, Holland, and England. In the end of the preceding century, a general assembly of Scotland had pointed out a multiplicity of errors in the Stagirite's system. I blush to find another, near the middle of this, recommend him without any particular exceptions. In France and Holland, multitudes embraced the Cartesian system. The principal literati in England adopted that of Gassendi; and, during the last half of the century, applied themselves to the study of mathematical discoveries, with the utmost ardour. Philological studies, relative to the oracles of God, were also cultivated with astonishing success.

In forming of commentaries on the scripture, the plain and literal method of Calvin was for a time generally followed. But Willet, and some other learned men of the English church, retained the



the ancient fondness of cramming their page with the sayings of the fathers; for which their own Whitby, in the next age, sufficiently corrected them. Grotius and Cocceius struck out two new plans of interpreting scripture. That of Grotius was of the literal kind, too plentifully interspersed with quotations from Heathen authors, as means of elucidating the phrases of inspiration. In explaining the prophecies, he laboured to apply them to persons and events respecting the Jewish nation; and, if possible, to exclude our Redeemer, except as to some hidden and mystical sense; of which the persons and events literally intended were, perhaps, some kind of emblem or type. He seems also to have laboured, that nothing in his work might offend his Popish or Socinian friends. Cocceius laboured to find Christ every where; and considered every point of Old-Testament history, as representing the events pertaining to him and his church; and insisted, that these are all, though not with equal clearness, pointed out in the ancient oracles. While the Arminians, and other zealous opposers of Cocceius, copied after the dry and Christless manner of Grotius, that of Cocceius was relished exceedingly by multitudes of the more pious in Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. The English doctors, soon after the middle of the century, published a huge collection of critical works on the scripture, to which the Dutch, in this eighteenth century, have made the addition of some folio volumes. Perhaps, none of the Reformed did more service to the church, than Pool, an English Puritan, by his *Synopsis Criticorum*, and his *Exposition*, which he lived not to finish. Nor are there many valuable hints in Patrick, Lowth, Clark, &c. but what are more or less suggested by Pool, and his critics.

The method of teaching theology still continued to be too much embarrassed with philosophical and

and scholastic jargon. The doctrines of Aristotle and Cartesius were too much haled in by their friends, and their opposers. The writings of the great Witfius, and of some Cocceian doctors, are considerably plain; and these of Turretine, Heidegger, Mastricht, Mark, and almost innumerable others, notwithstanding of their hard words, are extremely judicious. Almost every noted professor of divinity in Holland, Switzerland, and Geneva, published his theological system. The Arminians pretended to teach with more than ordinary clearness and simplicity; and it is certain, some leading divines of that kind in Holland and England did so: many of the French divines also, taught with not inconsiderable plainness. Never, perhaps, since the apostolic age, was the Christian scheme better understood, than by the British divines under Cromwell. T. Goodwin, Burroughs, Marshal, Strong, Reynolds, Clarkson, Manton, Caryl, Calamy, Charnock, and a multitude besides, deserve our distinguished regard. None appears to have understood theology better than Dr Owen; but his, as well as Goodwin's manner of expression, is too often dry, and somewhat perplexed. Moral theology was more cultivated than it had formerly been. In the beginning of the century, William Ames, a British Puritan, professor of divinity at Franeker, published his *Cases of conscience*, which is far from contemptible. About the middle of it, Amyraut, a French divine, published an elaborate system of the moral kind, to which, notwithstanding of its obsolete style, Placette and Piçtet owe a considerable part of the glory of their moral productions. The English Puritans published vast numbers of moral tracts; and, in their own life, exemplified what they taught. The Dutch and British Arminians published a variety of moral productions, enforced with arguments nervous and plain. But they neglected to lay the foundation of true

virtue

virtue in union with Christ, application of his blood to the conscience, freedom from the law as a covenant, and the indwelling and influence of the Holy Ghost in the heart. Nor were the Baxterian, and some other divines, innocent on this head.

The continued establishment of the Helvetic, French, Dutch, Scotch, Irish, Westminster, and Savoy Confessions, with the Palatine Confession and catechism, the Articles of the English church, and other public documents, sufficiently manifest, that the doctrines professed were much the same as in the former century. But the real belief of many, and the matter of sermons, was much altered. The swarms of Arminian preachers made a shift with their conscience, solemnly to affirm or subscribe the very reverse of what they really believed, and commonly taught. Some small changes were made in the manner of worship, and form of government, but none of importance, in the Reformed churches abroad. In Scotland, Prelacy, and some ceremonies attending it, were introduced with as much expedition as possible, after the beginning of the century. The imposition of a service-book, and book of canons, somewhat similar to the English, provoked the nation to abolish episcopal government, and restore Presbytery, in 1638. In 1661, Prelacy was again restored; but the English mode of worship was not introduced into Scotland, except in part, till about 1713. In 1688, Presbytery was again restored, and still continues to be the established government; though, since 1711, Prelacy has had a very ample toleration. Between 1640 and 1660, Prelacy, and its attendant ceremonies, were abolished in England, and Presbytery and Independency were partially admitted in practice; but none of them can be said to have obtained any proper legal establishment.

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Though both clergy and people were much more mild and humane than their Popish ancestors, yet unscriptural severities were too much in vogue. Papists were, in some places, punished for not joining in the eucharist with the Protestants. Civil pains of outlawry, and the like, were annexed to the clerical excommunications. Religious covenants, in Britain, were imposed under pain of civil and ecclesiastical penalties, to such as perhaps could not take them in conscience. Almost every where, the affairs of church and state were too much blended. The Arminians, where they were weakest, loudly insisted for toleration to themselves, and their Socinian friends; but where they had power, as in Britain, they were the most barbarous persecutors, content to sacrifice the peace of nations, and the liberty and life of thousands, for the most whimsical trifle.

Strict holiness and virtue too little prevailed in mens practice. Not a few, both clergy and people, were a scandal to the Christian name. Most of these who extolled the powers of human nature to do good, and the importance of good works in procuring eternal happiness, did, by their own licentiousness towards God or men, prove their darling doctrines delusive. The morals of the French Protestants were loudly complained of. Multitudes of the stanch Episcopalians in Britain and Ireland, especially these of the Arminian mould, were destitute of every appearance of piety; while Usher, Knox, Abbot, Hall, Leighton, Reynolds, and others of the Calvinistical stamp, were, in many things, noted patterns of virtue. The partisans of the English long parliament, between 1641 and 1660, were many of them noted for tenderness of life; as were also their friends in Scotland and Ireland. Scarce one bankruptcy happened in a year; nor one stage-play in twenty. The secret, private, and public worship of God,

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was punctually attended, even by the soldiery. During the reigns of Charles and James II. wickedness and impiety of every sort had prevailed to an enormous degree. After the Revolution, a variety of societies were formed, by both Episcopalians and Dissenters, for the reformation of manners; who made it their business to rebuke offenders, and prosecute such as were obstinate. Meanwhile, a multitude of societies for prayer and conference, and for carrying on of charitable designs, were erected in various places of England and Ireland, in the manner of these already mentioned among the Lutherans in Germany. In London, we find about forty, and ten in Dublin, in each of which there might be about twenty, thirty, or more persons. Some of the bishops, and even queen Mary, encouraged them.

Before the Dutch founded their universities at Leyden, Franeker, and Utrecht, that of Geneva was in the highest repute with almost all the Reformed churches of the Presbyterian persuasion, while it was heartily detested by the stanch Episcopalians. Many students of divinity from different nations, whose circumstances permitted, frequented it, and drank in Calvin's opinion concerning the divine decrees. Beza's expressing of himself on that point, somewhat differently from Calvin, occasioned a distinction of the Calvinian divines, into Supralapsarians, and Sublapsarians. Neither party reckoned the difference material; nor indeed would it be hard to reconcile their opinions. About the beginning of the century, Arminius, to whom Kornhert, and others, had paved the way, published his opinions, different from and destructive of both; and suspending the whole purpose of God, and the execution thereof, upon man's free will, and self-determination to good or evil. After many angry debates and commotions relative to

to this matter in Holland, the synod of Dort was called by the states-general; but the provinces of Holland, Utrecht, and Overijssel, protested against it. The synod met in 1619, and consisted not only of the principal doctors of the United Provinces, but of commissioners from England, Scotland, Switzerland, the Palatinate, Wetteraw, Heflia, Bremen, and Embden. They, after no small deliberation, decided against the conditionality of God's decree, relative to man's everlasting happiness; the dying of Christ for all men, without distinction of elect or reprobate; the natural power of men to do what is spiritually good; the resistibility and superability of God's converting grace; and the total or final falling of the saints, from their gracious state, nature, or practice. Their *Acts* are an extremely useful work, on these disputed heads. The provinces of Friesland, Zeland, and Utrecht, refused to acknowledge the authority of this synod. Gelderland and Groningen refused to adopt its decisions, though afterwards, in 1651, they emitted a declaration, bearing, that they would with pleasure see the Reformed religion maintained upon that footing: but this many of their doctors never considered as a law to their church. The Reformed churches of Bremen and Brandenburg, never, without limitation, adopted the synod's decrees, nor tied down their clergy thereto. The divines of Switzerland and Geneva were pleased therewith. Terrible commotions ensued in Holland, which continued till the Arminians were allowed a full toleration.

The heat of the Arminian dispute was scarce diminished in Holland, when new contests threatened to tear out the bowels of that church. Passing several of the more inconsiderable disputes, concerning usury, ornaments of dress, stage-plays, the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, and ecclesiastical discipline, and the like; when

Cartesius



Cartesius first published his new philosophy, many in Holland were mightily taken therewith; but in 1639, Voet, a theologian of prodigious application and learning, attacked the following principles thereof: That mens search after knowledge ought to commence with universal doubting, even of the existence of God; that the essence of all spirits, God not excepted, consists in mere thought; that matter is without all bounds, and space but a creature of mens fancy. Voet was seconded by Rivet, Marenius, Mastricht, and the greatest part of the Dutch clergy. During the heat of the dispute, some further inflamed it, by applying the Cartesian dictates to illustrate the doctrines of the gospel. Several of the ecclesiastical classes, about 1656, enacted laws against this conduct, as dangerous to the purity of truth. The states of Holland prohibited all their professors of philosophy or theology, to teach the Cartesian opinions, or illustrate the doctrines of revelation thereby. Next year, the ecclesiastical synod enacted, that none should be admitted to the ministry, before he solemnly engaged, neither to promote the Cartesian philosophy, nor to disfigure the gospel with foreign ornaments. Laws of the same kind were made in other places of the United Provinces. Instead of restraining, these laws occasioned the spread of Des Cartes' opinions, and the more abundant use thereof, in sermons, or theological lectures and writings, to explain, and sometimes pervert the truths of the gospel. These disputes continued till after the end of the century.

Meanwhile, John Cocceius, or Cock, a theologian of singular piety and learning, but of a luxuriant fancy, began to vent his distinguished opinions. Laying it down for a maxim, that every expression of scripture really comprehends every sense it is capable to bear, consistent with the analogy of faith; and affecting, every where, to find

Jesus Christ, and spiritual things, as the genuine sense of the text, he reckoned the historical and doctrinal part of the Old Testament, holy riddles and predictions of future events; and that even the history of our Saviour's life and death, was typical of spiritual transactions. He insisted, that in the patriarchal age, the church was under a dispensation of promise, which approached near to the grace of the gospel; that the law was given to the Hebrews at Sinai, merely as a covenant of grace, but that on account of their making and worshipping the golden calf, God gave them a load of ceremonies, which rendered their dispensation not good, but legal and slavish; and that the sins of the godly, under this dispensation, were not pardoned, but merely passed by unpunished, till the time of our Saviours death; and hence they lived under continual fear, bondage, and wrath. Notwithstanding the Voetians opposed these notions with the utmost vigour, they stood their ground, and spread into Germany and Switzerland, where they still continue, and are especially supported by such as adhere to the Cartesian philosophy.

About 1686, Alexander Roel, professor of divinity at Franeker, Vander Wayen, Wesselius, and other Cartesians, taught, that the divine origin and authority of scripture may be sufficiently documented by reason alone; and that right reason is to be judge of whatever is proposed to us in scripture as the object of our faith. Ulric Nuber, an eminent lawyer, Gerard de Vries, and others, warmly opposed them. And though the controversy perhaps related more to words than opinions, the flames thereof spread through the whole of the United Provinces. Not long after, Roel alarmed the great Vitringa, his colleague, and others, with his teaching, that Jesus Christ is not the Son of God by any kind of generation, but merely by his possession of the same essence as the Father and Spirit;

Spirit; and that he is no more begotten of the Father, than the Father of him; and that the affliction and death of the saints are as truly the penal effects of original sin, as these of the wicked. He also expressed himself in a way of his own, relative to the divine decrees, original sin, and the satisfaction of Christ. His errors were condemned by the church; and the states of Friesland prohibited him, and all others, to teach them. He silently submitted, and continued a teacher of divinity at Franeker, and afterwards at Utrecht. His followers are still treated with severity; and notwithstanding of solemn declarations to the contrary, are much suspected of concealed errors.

Meanwhile, Balthasar Bekker, pastor at Amsterdam, intoxicated with the Cartesian notion of spirits, maintained, that no unembodied spirits, of the created kind, can act upon mankind in their body or property; that Satan is confined to hell; and that therefore all the scriptural accounts of the operation of good or bad spirits upon matter, must be allegorically understood. This doctrine, published in his *World Bewitched*, was sufficiently refuted by his opposers; and himself, on account of it, deposed from his office. But he continued till his death in 1718, fully persuaded of it; and to this day it has its votaries and patrons in Holland.

It is scarce worth while to mention James Verschoor, who, in 1680, formed a religious system of his own, a motley mixture of the doctrines of Cocceius and Spinoza. His disciples, of both sexes, were called *Verschorists*, and sometimes *Hebrews*, from their distinguished care to acquaint themselves with the originals of the Old Testament. Much about the same time, Van Hattem, pastor of Zealand, addicted to the opinions of Spinoza, and on that account deposed from his office, founded a sect of his own. The *Verschorists* would never unite with the *Hattemists*: but sundry of their



leading principles were the same. Both reduced the absolute decrees of God to a fatal necessity. Both denied the sinful corruption of the human nature, and the difference of moral good and evil. Hence they inferred, that men are under no obligations to virtue, or the correction of their manners; but merely to bear with patience, and constant tranquillity of mind, whatever God shall lay upon, or give to them. Hattem further affirmed, that Jesus Christ made no satisfaction for sin, but only by his mediation signified to us, that there is nothing in us that can offend God; and that he doth not punish men for, but by their sins; they suffering the painful fruit of their licentiousness in the infirmity of their nature, and its various effects. These two sects still subsist in Holland, but under other names.

In this eighteenth century, sundry in Holland have made approaches towards the doctrine of Spinoza. The famous Jurieu, by his furious disputes; the well-known Saurin, by a number of unwary expressions, particularly in maintaining that men may lie and deceive, in order to avert some great evil, or procure some considerable advantage; and Maty, by pretending, that the Father alone is purely divine; but that the Holy Ghost, as well as the Son, has a created nature united to his divine, have occasioned some trouble in Holland, especially to the French church.

The French church also had their share of contention. About 1600, Piscator, the learned professor of divinity at Herborn in Germany, vented his notion, that Christ obeyed the moral law only for himself as man; and therefore his active obedience cannot be imputed to us for our justification. Finding that it raised some contentions, particularly in France, he, in 1607, wrote to the synod of Rochelle concerning it. They condemned his opinion; returned a discreet reply to his humble and Christian missives; and ordered what Huguet, a minister

nister of Dauphiny, had published against him, to be suppressed. The French synods of Privas, in 1612, and of Tonein, in 1617, further condemned it. It was nevertheless adopted by not a few of the learned theologians, Scultet, H. Alting, Goclein, Crocius, Blondel, L. Capel, Cameron, Gataker, Hammond, if not also Paræus, and others.

Cameron, a Scotch divine, but professor of theology at Saumur in France, to the displeasing of both, struck out a kind of middle plan between the Arminians and the orthodox. About 1634, Moses Amyraut, theological professor in the same place, and a man of great learning, improved upon it. He taught, that God inwardly desires the eternal happiness of all men, and by his decree has excluded none of them from the benefits procured by Christ's death; that God, by the light of nature, and common providence, calls all men to Christ; that God withholds from no man a power of believing in Christ; but doth not grant to every one whatever assistance is necessary to make them improve their power aright. He, and Testard, pastor of Blois, his companion, were prosecuted by the synod of Alençon, in 1637, but explained themselves with such artifice, that they were acquitted from error; only the synod warned them, and others, against the use of such dubious or dangerous expressions. Rivet, Spanheim, Marefius, and other divines, from Holland, in a multiplicity of publications, attacked Amyraut; and he defended himself with spirit. After his death, Daille, Blondel, Mestrezat, and Claude, principal doctors of the French church, supported his cause; and his sentiments, perhaps a little refined, were at last adopted in all the Protestant universities of the kingdom; and, upon the ruin of their church, disseminated far and wide by the French refugees.

About 1640, La Place, the friend and colleague of Amyraut, taught, that Adam's first sin is not imputed to his posterity, but only their natural

propensity to sin, and the personal guilt flowing therefrom. His opinion was condemned by the synod of Charenton in 1642, and refuted by a great number of the Switzer and Dutch divines. Regard to the peace of the church prevented his defending of himself; but his doctrine was spread by some of the refugees. Lewis Capel, another professor of Saumur, troubled the church with his doctrine of the novelty of the Hebrew points. E. liás Levita, Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Munster, Olivetan, Mafius, Scaliger, Caufabon, Drufius, De Dieu, and many others, had thought so before him; but perhaps none of them had such a large stock of self-conceit, as could move them to trouble the church with this dispute. The Buxtorfs and others refuted his notions, and perhaps extended their defence too far. Le Blanc's attempt to shew, that of the controversies with the Catholics, some consisted merely in a difference of words; and others of the contested points were less important than was ordinarily imagined, drew upon himself the indignation of many. Meanwhile, his apparently accurate and candid way of treating these points, procured him a number of disciples.

What were the real sentiments of Paion, another French divine, is hard to determine. Spanheim the younger, and other antagonists, represent him as maintaining, that original corruption has its proper seat in the understanding, from whence it infects the will, and leads it to sinful actions; that this malady may be cured by the moral influence of the Holy Ghost, imparting clear ideas of divine truth, and arguments to support it; so that every man, by the careful use of his reason, and a careful study of the scripture, may correct whatever is amiss in his sentiments, affections, or actions, without any supernatural influence of the Spirit of God. Meanwhile, Paion averred his firm adherence to the decisions of Dort; and insisted, that his opi-

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nion lay solely, in that he could not believe with some, that the word of God is a mere instrument or sign of the immediate operation of the Holy Ghost upon the human heart. It is certain, his sentiments were condemned by several provincial synods of France, about 1677; and in 1686, they were condemned by one at Rotterdam in Holland. Isaac Papin, his nephew, revived, or rather continued this controversy; and, by his writings and travels, communicated it to Holland, England, and Germany. He plainly asserted, that mens natural powers are more than sufficient to lead them into the knowledge of divine truth; and that to effect a spiritual change of our nature, no more is necessary, than to put the body into a sound state by physic, and to set truth and error clearly before the understanding, and virtue and vice before the will. In 1686, Jurieu, with his usual bitterness, refuted these opinions: and two years after, they were condemned in the French synod at the Hague. Provoked herewith, Papin, in 1690, embraced the Popish religion.—About 1684, Charles le Cene propagated some opinions similar to these of Pailon; but he carried his point so far, as to deny original sin altogether. His translation of the Bible was published at Amsterdam, in 1741, and soon after condemned by the French synod of Holland.

During the whole of this century, the churches of Geneva and Switzerland were privileged with judicious professors, who had no great inclination to novelty. Beza, Diodati, Tronchin, Turretine, and Piſtet, were the principal ornaments of the academy of Geneva. About 1669, they were alarmed with the progress which the doctrines of Amyraut, La Place, and Capel, were making in different countries, and that some of the Genevan doctors were zealous to propagate the same. At last Heidegger, the learned professor of divinity at Zurich, was employed to draw up a *Formula of doctrine*,

*trine*, in opposition thereto. The magistrates, with much reluctance, appended their sanction; and it was added to the other ecclesiastical standards, under the title of the *Form of concord*. Multitudes refusing to subscribe it, unhappy contests and tumults ensued. Perceiving the inconveniency of imposing it, and strongly solicited by the elector of Brandenburg, the canton of Basil, about 1687, dropt their demand of subscriptions. At Geneva, the formula maintained its credit till 1706; since which, by means of Alphonsus Turretine, and others, that church has been much infected with Arminianism. As late as 1723, it retained its authority in several places of Switzerland. Such Arminians, and others, as were thereby debarred from ecclesiastical functions, made terrible outcries of the unchristian oppression of mens conscience. Several tumults were occasioned at Lausanne, and other places. At last, in consequence of letters from king George I. of Britain, Frederic of Prussia, and the States-General, the subscription was dropt, and the Formula is now sunk into oblivion.

When James VI. of Scotland, who had been educated in the Presbyterian manner, came to the English throne, the Puritans expected some redress of their former grievances. At the first, he seemed to take some steps that way; but quickly undeceived them. In 1604, he appointed a conference between them and the Prelatists, at Hampton court. Instead of acting the part of a witness, or an impartial moderator, James, puffed up with a vain conceit of his theological talents, took the part of his new Episcopalian friends, furiously disputed with, or rather abusively brow-beat the Puritans; for which, to his great satisfaction, he received the fulsome flattery of Bancroft and archbishop Whitgift. As his desire of unlimited authority made him relish Episcopacy, in which the governing bishops were all his dependent creatures, he, by bribery, falsehood, persecution, and other  
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base artifices, introduced it into Scotland, and created such bishops, as he knew would stick at nothing to serve him. Such as opposed his measures, whether in Scotland or England, shared deep in his persecuting vengeance. Some were deprived of their office; others imprisoned; and numbers fled to Holland, France, and other places, where they might serve God with a safe conscience. Till after the synod of Dort, James pretended to be a zealous Calvinist; and Abbot, the pious archbishop of Canterbury, did what he could to confirm him in his principles. Scarce had the British deputies returned from Dort, when James, and a great part of his clergy, were hearty Arminians. This rendered them more furious persecutors of the Puritans, whose distinguished piety, as well as their principles, was considered as an egregious offence.

In 1625, Charles I. ascended the throne. To establish his absolute power, together with Arminianism, Prelacy, and superstition, was his great aim. Laud bishop of London, and in 1633 advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury, was principally intrusted with the execution of his project. Imprudence, excessive superstition, and a violent persecuting spirit, tarnished what learning he had. A most quibbling *declaration*, probably composed by king James, and which, by turns, appeared to favour the Arminians and Calvinists, and prohibited all curious debates concerning the divine decrees, was published at the head of the thirty-nine English articles of faith. Laud and his agents improved this for persecuting the Calvinists, while Arminianism mightily recommended to favour and ecclesiastical promotion. Laud's furious prosecution of his designs, in imposing the Service-book, and Book of canons, upon Scotland, and in persecuting the friends of religion and liberty in England, cost him his life; and king Charles his



his master, shamefully lost his some years after on a scaffold. Both Scots and English threw off the Prelatical government, and its attendant superstition. Presbytery was solemnly established and sworn to in Scotland. The establishment of a religious uniformity in Britain and Ireland was seriously intended by many. A common Confession of faith, with a Shorter and Larger Catechism, Directory for worship, and Form of Presbyterian government, were drawn up by the divines of the Westminster assembly. Most part of these were approved by the parliaments concerned.

But the Independents prevented the proper establishment of Presbytery in England and Ireland. They were a part of the Puritans, who considered every congregation as a complete church by itself; placed the ruling power in the community of the faithful; and denied to the magistrate any manner of authority in things religious and ecclesiastical. They retained not a little of the Brownistical opinions; but were generally much more moderate. Having fled to Holland for the sake of religious liberty, they formed their first congregation there in 1610; and about four years after, erected another in England. After much struggling, they, chiefly by means of Cromwell, obtained the principal sway in the nation, and retained it for about ten years. As all of them were zealous sticklers for liberty of conscience, and part of them for allowing unlearned persons to be preachers, terrible confusions ensued. Almost innumerable forms of sectaries started up; and men and women commenced preachers at pleasure.

When Charles II. was restored to his throne in 1660, Prelacy was established in all his dominions, New England excepted. Oaths and declarations for the perpetual confirmation thereof, and for abjuring every thing contrary thereto, were furiously imposed. This establishment, so deep founded

in diffimulation, perjury, hatred, and revenge, could hardly fail to be confirmed with the persecution and murder of innocents and saints. The Independents, who had overturned the civil government, and chiefly cut off Charles I.'s head, but especially the Presbyterians, who had marked the principal zeal for his preservation, and for his son's restoration, were terribly persecuted for about twenty-eight years; and above sixty thousand in England and eighteen thousand in Scotland, were imprisoned, banished, or murdered, under or without colour of law. About two hundred thousand families were terribly oppressed, and the kingdoms reduced to poverty and ruin. About two thousand of the most eminent ministers in England, and three hundred in Scotland, were driven from their charges, confined, imprisoned, tortured, or murdered; while absolute profligates were placed in the room of many of them. Contrary to the most solemn promises of Charles, and his agents, no modification of the terms of uniformity was allowed. Nor had they any legal indulgence, except for the sake of the Papists. James II. with all his might, laboured to exterminate the Protestant religion, and introduce Popery. When the kingdom was on the brink of ruin, with respect to both civil and religious liberty, it was, in 1688, delivered by his nephew and son-in law, the prince of Orange, and afterwards king William. Prelacy was retained in England and Ireland. Contrary to the most solemn, and often repeated promises, the Prelatic clergy took care, that their terms of communion should be nothing relaxed in favours of the Dissenters. But king William, and his parliament, granted them a legal toleration. They were upon the point of being deprived of it, when George I. in 1714, came to the throne, and restored them their liberty, which still continues.

During

During these convulsions, there was an almost uninterrupted theological strife, concerning the king's power in religion; the lawfulness of resisting him, or his agents, in some cases; the divine right of Prelacy; the lawfulness of the ceremonies, or of imposing them as terms of ecclesiastical communion; the reasonableness of tolerating Dissenters; and the like. Some Prelatists, as Hales, Chillingworth, More, Cudworth, Gale, Whichcot, Wilkins, Patrick, Tillotson, Tennison, Lloyd, Burnet, Fowler, and for a time Stillingfleet, though generally Arminians themselves, thought Calvinist principles, relative to doctrine, worship, or government, no reason of hating the Dissenters, whether Presbyterian or Independent. This drew upon them, from the Papists, and the more bigotted Protestants, the name of Latitudinarians, Socinians, Deists, Atheists, or the like.

When king William came to the throne, Sancroft archbishop of Canterbury, Lloyd of Norwich, Turner of Ely, Kenn of Bath and Wells, Framp-ton of Gloucester, Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, and White of Peterborough, imagining that king James retained his full right to the crown, refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. Being, on that account, deprived of their functions, and Tillotson, Moore, Patrick, Kidder, Fowler, Cumberland, &c. put in their room, they, with their adherents, formed a kind of church of their own, which was called that of the *Non-jurors*, or the *High-church*. They maintained, that it is unlawful, in any case, to resist the king; that kings have their power entailed upon them by divine, indefeasible, and hereditary right, and are accountable only to God for their use of it; that, in religious matters, the church is subject only to Christ; that Episcopacy is of divine right, and an uninterrupted succession of bishops is necessary; that therefore themselves

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still retained their ecclesiastical power, and their rivals, and all that adhered to them, were guilty of a most criminal schism. Henry Dodwell, who had been deprived of his history-professorship, defended the Nonjurant cause with great zeal, and sometimes with the utmost absurdity.

In 1709, Sacheverel published two sermons, in which he asserted, that the means used to bring about the Revolution were odious and unjustifiable; that the act of toleration was unreasonable; that queen Anne's administration in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, tended to destroy the constitution of church and state. He was condemned by the parliament: but multitudes of the people took his part. In 1717, Hoadly bishop of Bangor, having published a *Preservative against the principles and practices of the Nonjurors*, and a sermon concerning the nature of Christ's kingdom, the High-church men, chiefly Snape and Sherlock, attacked it with fury. The lower house of convocation condemned his productions, as tending to subvert all government and discipline in the church; and to impugn the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical causes, and the power of the legislature to enforce obedience in religious matters by civil sanctions. The conduct of the convocation gave such offence to the court, that they have never since been permitted to meet for any other business, than to form complimentary addresses to the throne. In 1723, Atterbury bishop of Rochester, a noted supporter of Sacheverel, was attainted of treason, and, to the great vexation of his party, deprived of his office and dignity, and for ever banished the kingdom. Since which, the High-church men have made but little disturbance.

None of the British dissenters kindled so much theological strife as Richard Baxter, a truly learned and sagacious divine, and whose words, I hope, were often worse than his opinions. By his at-

tempts to reconcile Calvinists with Arminians, &c. he drew upon himself the opposition of almost every party in the land; and by turns opposed and befriended the most of them. He seems to have marked out Dr Owen, who was his rival in fame, as the peculiar butt of his polemical strokes. He maintained, that common and saving grace differ only in degree; that there is a twofold justification of men before God; that the righteousness of Christ exclusive of his active obedience, is the ground of our legal justification; that faith as an act, repentance, forgiveness of others, and the like, are the ground of our evangelic or continued justification; that believers continue under the covenant of works, and their afflictions are real punishments for sin; nor is their pardon of sin complete, till they have, by final perseverance, performed the condition, nay not till the day of judgment; that as the righteousness of Christ meriteth the possibility of a sinner's justification before God on gospel-terms, our own actual and inherent righteousness must merit the actual application of Christ's righteousness, and justification by it, otherwise we cannot be justified; that as the death of Christ procured the covenant of grace, whose condition is faith and sincere obedience, so the gospel is a new law insisting upon no more than these easy terms, as the condition of our justification and salvation, &c. His tenets were refuted by Owen, Crandon, Chauncey, Brown, and others; while vast numbers of the Presbyterian dissenters adopted them, with some modifications.

After spending about forty years in theological warfare, and enduring no inconsiderable hardships for non-compliance with Prelacy, Baxter died in 1691. But quickly after, upon the publishing of Dr Crisp's sermons, whose doctrines, though evangelic, are not alway expressed with due caution, Dr Williams published his *Gospel-truth stated and vindicated*, in opposition thereto. He maintained

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that there is no proper legal change of person between Christ and his elect; that not sin itself, but merely the guilt and punishment of it, was laid upon Christ as our Surety; that Christ's righteousness, not in itself, but in order to the communication of its effects, is imputed to us; that the covenant of grace is strictly conditional with respect to us; that the gospel is a new law requiring faith, and sincere obedience, as the necessary conditions of eternal salvation; that true faith doth not include any assured appropriation of the good things promised to ourselves; that it is not sinners as such, but such as are duly qualified with sense of sin, and the like, that are called to an immediate embracement of Christ; that regeneration and faith are previous to all mystical union with Christ; that there is no application of Christ's righteousness to a person in order to pardon, before he believe; that faith is required as an indispensable qualification in order to our being justified through the merits of Christ; that sincere obedience, and perseverance therein, are required of the elect, in order to obtain everlasting happiness; and that the future sins of believers are not forgiven in their justification. His opinions were attacked by Chauncey, Mather, Traill, and others. But the most of the Presbyterian dissenters applauded them, as did several of the more noted of the Episcopal clergy. After much litigation, and various ineffectual attempts of agreement, the great Witfius was entreated to declare his mind on the differences; which he did in his excellent *Animadversiones Irenicæ*. The Marrow theologians of Scotland, and the renowned Hervey, Venn, and others of late, in England, have also plainly declared themselves against Williams and his Neonomian brethren.

It is needless to mention the Trinitarian controversy, which, in the end of the seventeenth, and beginning of the present century, kindled such flames in England, chiefly among the dissenters.



In this present century, the prevalence of Arminian doctrine, the growth of profaneness, the indolence and unexemplary walk of the clergy, hath almost every where reduced the Reformed church to an unhappy condition. No addition of note, or change has been made in her profession. From 1711 to 1720, Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, laboured, but without success, to bring the Protestant church in his Prussian majesty's dominions, and in the electorate of Hanover, and the Popish church of France, to a conformity with the church of England. Never did an age more abound with commentaries on scripture. Vitrिंगа, Schultens, Michaelis, Saurin, Beausobre, Breitenger, are the most noted that I know of abroad. At home, in the end of the former, and in this century, we have had published the commentaries of Patrick, Lowth, and Whitby; with these of Clark, Burkit, Henry, Smith, Nelson, Humphrey, Ryder, Marchand, Wells, Wesley, Fawkes, Purver, Haweis, Allen, Gill, Stackhouse, Pyle, Guise, Doddridge, &c. Vast numbers of theological systems have also been emitted by Pictet, Gerdes, Osterwald, Edwards, Doolittle, Fiddes, Adams, Stackhouse, Warner, Warden, Gill, &c.

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# A P P E N D I X.

CONTAINING THE

## H I S T O R Y

O F

Philosophy, Deists, Socinians, Arminians,  
Anabaptists, Quakers, Moravians, &c.

**T**HE reformation had scarce dawned, when it became a stated rule, to admit no body into the ministerial office, that was ignorant and illiterate. This, with some other circumstances, brought the lovers of PHILOSOPHY and *belles lettres* into credit. Some students of philosophy gave up themselves to contemplation. Others also attempted, by experience, to come at the knowledge of truth. Some continued admirers of Plato; but most enlisted themselves under the banner of Aristotle. Of the latter, some adhered to the text of that ancient sage. Melancthon, and others, extracted the marrow of Aristotle's works, and illustrated and corrected it, by the dictates of reason, and the doctrines of revelation. Cardan, Telesius, Ramus, and Paracelsus, struck out paths for themselves. Cardan was a man of a very wild imagination; and by his study of magic and astrology, rendered himself famous, while his real and not contemptible knowledge of medicine and mathematics, was overlooked. On the topics of natural philosophy, he mixed some important truths, with the most delirious effusions.

effusions of mystical folly. Campanella, a Calabrian, occupied himself in comparing the works of the ancient philosophers with the original volumes of nature. About 1609, he fell into the hands of the inquisition, endured terrible sufferings, and was a prisoner for twenty-five years; but whether for his philosophic inventions, or for his at least pretended attempt to betray the kingdom of Naples into the hand of the Turks, we know not. It is certain, he was afterward in no small credit with Lewis XIII. of France, and his minister Richlieu. By introducing a more sensible system of logics, and by his animadversions on Aristotle, Ramus, doctor of philosophy at Paris, occasioned a terrible uproar in the French seminaries of learning, and much persecution to himself and his disciples. He, about thirty years after, perished along with his Protestant brethren, in the Parisian massacre. By experiments indefatigably repeated, and by the chymical operation of fire, Paracelsus, a most whimsical magician, laboured to discover the first principles of bodies, and thus illustrate natural philosophy. His art was admired; and his followers were numerous. They were called *Theosophists*, as they placed but small confidence in human reasoning; but ascribed all to divine illumination, and repeated experience. It was about the dawn of the reformation that Copernicus, the Prussian bishop of Warmia, revived the ancient opinion of the sun's being the centre of the lower world, and of the motion of the earth.

Before the seventeenth century, men had generally but groped for the doctrines of true philosophy; now they began actually to find them. In the very beginning of it, Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, of England, in his *Dignity and progress of learning*, his *New instrument of science*, and other works, marked out the true paths to scientific knowledge; though some of his directions transcend the reach of ordinary



ordinary capacities. He, in general, pointed to the experimental study of nature, not to the pages of Aristotle, Plato, or other ancient Heathens, as the proper method of obtaining the solid knowledge of philosophy. All of a sudden, surprising adepts in mathematics, astronomy, and natural philosophy, appeared every where. Galileo of Tuscany rendered himself famous for his astronomical researches. Des Cartes and Gassendi in France, vigorously pushed after knowledge, and left behind them a vast number of celebrated disciples. These of the first magnitude were, Tycho Brahe, in Denmark; Boyle and Newton, in England; Kepler, Hevelius, and Leibnitz, in Germany; and the two Bernouilli in Switzerland. These excited such a spirit of emulation among the literati, that scarce a country in Europe where science could enter, failed to produce some profound mathematician, famous astronomer, or noted philosopher. The dukes of Tuscany, Lewis XIV. of France, Cromwell, and Charles II. of England, honoured themselves by what encouragement they gave to the friends of learning. The royal society of London, and the academy of Paris, were instituted, and endowed with ample privileges for the cultivation thereof. The progress of real philosophical knowledge contributed to the advantage of gospel-truth. The enquiries into the law of nature by Grotius, Puffendorf, Cudworth, Cumberland, and others, assisted in the study of moral theology. The superiority of inspired instructions to the light of nature, and their perfect harmony therewith, was more and more manifested.

But to take a more particular view. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Peripatetic or Aristotelian philosophy, almost every where prevailed in the Christian schools. Except at Tubingen, Altorf, Juliers, and Leipzig, they were indeed less attached to Aristotle himself, than

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to his modern expositors; but it was generally supposed, to be highly criminal to correct or dissent from his doctrine. The Fire-philosophers, Rosicrucian brethren, Theosophists, or Chymists; among whom Fludd, Behmen, and Michael Mayer, were chief leaders; Baptista, and Francis Helmonts, Knorrius, Kuhlman, Nollus, and Sperber, principal disciples, had spread themselves into a great part of Europe. Scarce any two of these high pretenders to wisdom agreed fully, except in their common maxims; such as, that the dissolution of bodies by fire, is the only true method of discovering their principles; that God governs the kingdom of grace, by the same rules as the kingdom of nature; that there is an universal soul or spirit diffused throughout the frame of the universe; that the stars have an influencing power over all corporeal beings, especially mankind. They all talked of the powers of magic, and of the diversified orders of demons. Their crude and incomprehensible notions, they expressed in the most quaint and unintelligible jargon. Both they and the Peripatetics were rendered contemptible, by the breaking forth of true philosophical light.

About 1624, Gassendi, a learned and eloquent professor of mathematics at Paris, attacked Aristotle and his followers with great resolution; but the furious resentment he thereby drew on himself from all quarters, and the natural sweetness of his temper, made him suspend his assault, and suppress five of the seven books which he had composed. His after attack upon Fludd, and his Rosicrucian brethren, partly regained him the favour of the Peripatetics. Proceeding to the search of somewhat solid in philosophy, he laid it down as his leading maxim, That true knowledge is to be procured, from a close attention to things, and to the facts and alterations happening thereto in the world. This he thought behoved to be done by the help of mathematics;

mathematics; for the metaphysical dictates he reckoned uncertain and precarious. Having demolished the metaphysical system just invented by Cartesius, he substituted one of his own, built upon the testimony of sense and experience; but to the hindrance of its reception, somewhat similar to that of Epicurus. As his meaning was often doubtfully expressed, and his works loaded with superfluous learning, he had almost no followers but the more eminent mathematicians. Barrow, Cudworth, Wallis, Locke, and others of the royal society at London; but especially Boyle and Newton, were the famous ornaments of his sect.

Cartesius, who had been bred a soldier, rejected the mathematics, and followed the abstract or metaphysical method of investigating truth. Having laid down a few general principles, apparently deducible from the very nature of man, he thence attempted to form ideas of the Deity, matter, soul, body, space, the universe, and its parts. From these compared together, and traced in their various connections, he formed a system of opinions, of which he made use in reforming the other branches of philosophy. He so connected his principles and consequences, that they seemed to follow one another, in the most accurate and natural order. Multitudes who disliked the dry, and often unintelligible jargon of the Peripatetics and Chymists, greedily adopted his discoveries. The Chymists, in a manner tolerably modest, opposed them. But the Peripatetics, who had authority on their side, finding their honour and gain at the stake, virulently declaimed against his sentiments, as erroneous, and leading to Atheism. The Cartesian philosophy stood its ground, and was more and more applauded and followed by many, who perceived the weakness and absurdity of the Aristotelian. Malebranche of France, and especially Leibnitz of Germany, were the bright ornaments of  
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of this sect. Gassendi, and others of the most judicious contemporaries of Des Cartes, highly applauded his efforts to rescue mankind from the long continued slavery of Aristotle's authority; and that he had struck out new paths of investigating truth. They approved of his ascending from what was simple and plain, to that which was more intricate and complex; and of his admitting nothing for truth, till it was clearly perceived to be so. They granted, he had made several important discoveries, and had demonstrated a variety of truths, which had been formerly received upon the footing of mere conjecture, or tradition. But they attacked his ideas of the Deity; of matter and spirit; of the universe; and his laws of motion, and other things connected therewith; and considered some of his principles as dangerous, uncertain, or contrary to experience.

These two, and their followers, having introduced a freedom of enquiry, some others, but without remarkable success or credit, struck out new plans of investigating truth. Others formed an eclectic system, collecting what they thought best from the different parties, especially what different parties agreed in. Sanchez of Tholouse, De la Mothe, Huetius bishop of Avranches, Bayle, and some others, observing the contention that reigned among the philosophers, abandoned themselves to the whims and jargon of the Sceptics; and represented the certain knowledge of truth, as absolutely unattainable by such short-sighted mortals as mankind.

In this present century, the Cartesian system, as refined by Leibnitz, Wolfius, and others; and the Gassendian, as illustrated and improved by Boyle, Newton, and others, are still in vogue. Logics and metaphysics have, with many, fallen under contempt. But the investigation of the nature of spirits and of bodies, by experimental proofs, is more

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more and more eagerly pursued, to which the public registers of every thing remarkable of the discoveries of nature, in the Philosophical transactions, *Acta Lipsiensia*, German Ephemerides, Memoirs of the academy at Paris, and the like, do exceedingly contribute. While Flamsteed, Halley, and others, prosecuted their astronomical enquiries, the mathematical knowledge has been pushed forward by Ozanam, Maclaurin, Simson, and their brethren. The study of moral philosophy has been vigorously prosecuted by Hutchison of Glasgow, and others; but in a manner not always agreeable to the oracles of God. John Hutchison, an English gentleman, pretended to form a new system of philosophy, and to found the whole on scripture, as well as experience. But his manifest torturing of the words of God, to force his sense upon them, and the self-conceited, and often unintelligible manner, in which he often expresses his opinions, is calculated to disgust his impartial readers. Nevertheless, he has not wanted his followers, among the judicious and learned.

II. While multitudes pushed forward their searches of truth, others, under pretence of uncommon penetration, attempted to seduce themselves and their brethren into a kind of ATHEISM, or, at least, a contempt of revealed religion. In France, Cosmo Ruggeri died at Paris, in 1616, obstinately declaring, that he looked upon all the accounts of a God, and of evil spirits, as idle dreams. In 1619, Julius Cæsar Vanini was burnt at Tholouse, for an obstinate Atheist. But some respectable authors think, he died a victim to bigotry and envy, rather than a martyr for impiety; and contend, that his *Amphitheatre of divine providence*, and his *Dialogues concerning nature*, and which had been published thirteen years before, with the permission of Henry IV. and the theological approbation

approbation of the Sorbonne, did not entitle him to the character of a despiser of God and religion. About 1640, Uriel Acosta, a Portuguese Atheist, finished his own life. In 1689, Casimir Lafinski, a Polish knight, was executed at Warsaw, for denying the being and providence of God; but whether his accusation was well or ill founded, we know not. Not long after, one Aikenhead was executed at Edinburgh for obstinacy in the same crime. Nor perhaps was Dr Pitcairn much less guilty. Whether the Semiathetical sentiments of Hobbes were really believed by king Charles II. and many of his subjects, we know not: but it is certain, their practice sufficiently corresponded with Atheism. Wilmot earl of Rochester, one of the most distinguished for profane and frantic insulting of the divine Majesty, and for trampling on every thing religious or moral, continued in his impiety, and in a constant and unbounded licentiousness, till his health no more permitted his scenes of debauchery. At last he died, in 1680, deeply convicted of guilt, and professing his unfeigned repentance.

It is scarce worth while to mention Matthew Knutzen, the German; who, in a frenzy, attempted to found a new sect, who should only follow the dictates of their own conscience, laying aside all consideration of God and religion. But the most noted Atheist of the age, was Benedict Spinoza, a Portuguese Jew, who died at the Hague in 1679. During life, he practised the rules of probity better than many Christians; nor did he seemingly attempt to corrupt the sentiments or morals of others: but his Atheism appeared in his posthumous works, chiefly his Ethics. Excessively fond of the Cartesian philosophy, which lays it down as a principle, that thought and extension are the only realities, he supposed it as a maxim, that all reality is in God in the highest degree; and thence inferred, that the divine essence consisted

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fitted of thought and extension in an infinite degree. This led him to maintain, that God and the universe, or system of creatures, are one and the same substance; that all things happen by an unchangeable law of nature; that God is an all-comprehending and infinite Being, which exists and acts by an invincible necessity. According to this scheme, every man is the one God, or part of him; and so is impeccable and perfect. The obscure manner in which Spinoza represented his sentiments, gave his disciples of the present age, Lucas, Meier, Boulanvilliers, Lenglet du Fresnoy, and others, all of them equally base in their sentiments and morals, an opportunity of pretending, that his opposers do not understand him. Toland, after mentioned, to procure himself a little subsistence, published an account of his Pantheistical brethren, or Spinosists; in which he represents their society-meetings, as accustomed to mimic the Christian worship, particularly of the English church, for their diversion. But whether he deserves credit, we dare not affirm.

Others, who called themselves THEISTS, or DEISTS, however licentiously they lived, chiefly directed their efforts against the revelation-scheme, as if an imposture, in whole or in part. In the sixteenth century, we find not a few pretended philosophers, who hating all religion, especially the Christian, laboured to pervert others. Of this kind were Pomponace, pope Leo X. cardinal Bembo, Politian, Jordan, Bruno, and Ochino, in Italy; Bodin, Rabelais, Montaigne, Bonaventure, Dolet, and Charron, in France; Paracelsus, and Tanarellus, in Germany. It is even said, they erected schools in divers provinces of France and Italy, whence issued swarms of impious doctors, to deceive the simple. Vanini confessed, that twelve of his society at Naples, had bent their course into

the different countries of Europe, to propagate the sentiments. Viret, one of the first reformers at Geneva, mentions some of Deistical principles he had to do with; and what else were the profligate Libertines, who occasioned so much trouble to Calvin? Multitudes of the pretended wits, especially in Italy and France, might be enrolled as members of the Deistical body. But, till of late, fear of danger restrained their plain and free declaration of their sentiments. Of the French Deists, Voltaire and Rousseau are the most noted. As the British Deists, abusing the liberty of their country, have most openly made their attacks upon divine revelation, we shall give a more particular account of them.

Not long after the beginning of the seventeenth century, lord Herbert of Cherburg, one of the most sensible of his tribe, pretended, that there is but one universal religion, which takes place every where, and consists of five articles, *viz.* that there is but one supreme God; that he is chiefly to be worshipped; that piety and virtue are the principal parts of his worship; that if we repent of our sin, God will forgive it; and that there are future rewards for the virtuous, and punishments for the wicked. He published his favourite book, *concerning the truth of religion*, in 1624. He informs us, that being in suspense, whether to publish it or not, he begged of God a directive sign; and pretends he received one like the sound of a distant thunder in a clear sky, which did exceedingly refresh his heart.—How enthusiastic! Sometime thereafter, he published his *Causes of error*, and his *Religion of laymen*. His *Religion of the Gentiles* was not published till after his death. His scheme was confuted by Baxter, Locke, and Whitby, but chiefly by Halyburton.

Soon after the middle of the century, Hobbes published his *Leviathan*; in which he pretends, that

that there are no laws of nature, but all the divine laws are revealed in the scripture; that the historical books of the Old Testament have no authority but that of Ezra, who restored them when lost; that the books of the New were never received as of divine authority, till, by the council of Laodicea, A. D. 364; that the scriptures have no authority but what they receive from the church, or rather the state; that we know nothing concerning God, but that he really exists; that whatever is not corporeal, is nothing at all; that religion springs from fanciful fears of invisible beings; that the existence of a future state is very uncertain; that men being naturally in a state of war one with another, every one may seize what he can by force or fraud, in order to render others incapable to hurt him; that antecedently to the civil laws, all things are quite indifferent; that kings are absolute lords over their subjects, and may do with them as they please. These strange principles met with no small reception. They were refuted by bishop Ward, archbishop Bramhall in his *Catching of the Leviathan*, Tennison, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, in his *Hobbes's Creed examined*, and bishop Cumberland, in his *Law of Nature*. But none of them attempted to vindicate the revelation-scheme.

In 1680, Blount published his translation of the two first books of the life of Apollonius Tyaneus, the famed magician, with large notes, striking against revealed religion. About three years after, he published his *Layman's religion*, mostly copied from Herbert. He assisted in composing the *Oracles of reason*, but had killed himself ere they were published by Gildon. Therein he, or Gildon, pretends, that the mediatorial scheme derogates as much from God's mercy, as the representing him by images does from his spirituality and infinity; that God's providing a Mediator for men, is an



evidence he was reconciled to them before, and so there was no need of one. Though he pretends to agree with Herbert's articles, enlarging them to seven, yet he insinuates, that the world is eternal; that there might be two eternal principles of being, the one good, and the other evil; that prayer is not certainly a duty; that the soul is material, but of purer composition than the body. He pretends to overthrow Moses' account of the flood, the dispersion of Noah's family, &c. Bradly in his *Impartial view of the truths of Christianity*, and Gildon now become penitent, in his *Deist's manual*, refuted these notions.

In 1696, Toland published his *Christianity not mysterious*, in which he pretends to demonstrate, that there is nothing in Christianity contrary to or above reason. It was answered by Becconal, Beverly, Norris, Payne, Syngé, and Brown, afterwards bishop of Cork. In 1698, he published his *Amyntor*, in which he rakes together whatever he could find, relative to spurious gospels, that had at any time appeared in the church, and pretends, that all of them, to the number of about eighty, have equal authority with our books of the New Testament. This was refuted by Samuel Clarke, Stephen, Richardson, Jones, and Lardner, in their respective works relative to the canon of the New Testament. He afterwards published his *Nazarene*, which was answered by Mangey, Paterson, and Brett. It is proper to observe, that in this century Mørney, Grotius, Hammond, and which is still better, Abbadie, published their tracts on the *Truth of the Christian religion*; Stillingfleet his *Origenes sacra*; Lock and Jenkins their *Reasonableness of Christianity*; and in the very end of it, Nichols published his *Refutatory conference with a Theist*; and not long after, Addison his *Evidences of the truth of the Christian religion*. The

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sermons at Boyle's Lecture, are also a valuable treasury of sensible reasonings, in favours of natural and revealed religion, particularly the Christian.

In his *Characteristics*, published in 1711, lord Shaftesbury pretends, that we ought to pursue virtue in a disinterested manner, without regard to future rewards or punishments; that Christianity hinders true friendship; that the belief of future rewards or punishments, renders virtuous actions mercenary, and unworthy of reward; that mens religious faith ought to be determined by the state; that the books of the Bible, and particularly the reports of miracles, are not to be altogether depended on; that ridicule is the test of truth, and nothing is to be credited that can be rendered ridiculous. His fancies have been animadverted on, by Balguy, Berkly, Wotton, Warburton, and more fully by John Brown.

Anthony Collins, after an attempt to prove the human soul mortal, in 1713, published his *Discourse on free-thinking*, in which he indirectly opposed the Christian religion, threw forth invectives against the clergy, and pretended, that the sacred books are corrupted, and that the multiplicity of readings renders them uncertain. It was answered by Hoadly, and more fully by Bentley, under the name of *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*. In 1724, Collins published his *Grounds and reasons of the Christian religion*, wherein he pretends, that Christianity having no foundation, but some prophecies of the Old Testament mystically understood, must necessarily be false; that the ancient Jews applied none of these prophecies to the Messias, which are applied to him in the New Testament; that since the apostles drew all their proofs from the Old Testament, it *only* must be canonical. This was refuted by the two Chandlers, Sykes, Jeffrey, and Sherlock, afterwards bishop of London. In 1727, he

published his *Scheme of literal prophecy*, in answer to Chandler bishop of Coventry; in which he abandoned the defence of a great part of what he had said; but from the opposition of one or more of the modern Jews, infers, that the ancient did not allow the application of such and such passages to the Messiah, and he especially labours to overturn the antiquity and authority of Daniel's predictions. This was refuted by the two Chandlers, Rogers, Sykes, Bullock, Jeffrey, Whiston, Gill, Green, and Lowman.

In 1727 and 1729, Woolston published his *Discourses on our Saviour's miracles*. Pretending, that the Gospels in the New Testament have an allegoric sense, he attempts to disprove their narrative of facts, and in the most abusive manner, charges the account of Jesus' miracles and reasoning, as absurd, false, and incredible. He was refuted by Ray, Stevenson, Lardner, Henry, Hallet, Simon Brown, Sherlock's Trial of the witnesses of Christ's resurrection, and by Pearse, afterwards bishop of Bangor, and Smalbrook, bishop of St David's.

In 1730, Tindal published his elaborate work, *Christianity as old as the creation*, wherein he pretends, that the law of nature coming from God, must be absolutely perfect and unchangeable, and sufficiently known to every man. He exhibits a multitude of exceptions against revelation in general, against its proof by miracles, and against the first publishers of it. He pretends, that the scripture is quite obscure, and its conveyance to us uncertain; that it leads men into wrong notions of God; that the spirit of the Old and that of the New Testament are contrary; that the fall of man, and the whole mediatorial scheme, are absurd; and that the Christian revelation cannot be of God, as it is not universal, nor does reform the lives of men. This performance was answered by Burnet, Waterland, Law,

Jackson,



Jackson, Foster, Conybeare, Stebbing, Balguy, Atkey, and Crawford; but perhaps, best by Simon Brown an English, and Leland, an Irish disseminator.

In 1737 and afterwards, Morgan published his *Moral philosopher*; in which he, in the most prevaricating manner, acknowledges, that the light of nature in our present state is insufficient to conduct us to happiness; but pretends, that it cannot be proven, that God has ever communicated his mind by revelation; that the only criterion of a divine revelation, is the moral fitness of things; that we must receive nothing upon the mere authority of God; that we must judge of the goodness or badness of things, merely from their tendency to our happiness or hurt; that many things in the Old Testament are but false narratives, or were tricks of imposture; that the New is little better, and has been corrupted by the Jews, according to their notions; and so is become a motley mixture of incoherent religions. This was refuted by Chapman, Lowman, and Mr Chandler.

In 1742, Dodwel, son to the famous Nonjuror, published his *Christianity not founded on argument*. Under a specious pretence of regard to religion, he pretends to shew, that the Christian faith hath no reasons, but merely enthusiasm, to support it; that God so reveals his mind to all men, as to give them a full and infallible knowledge of divine truth; and hence all instruction, and particularly that of the scriptures, is needless;—that Christ and his apostles never used arguments to induce men to believe, nor allowed them time for reasoning on the articles to be received;—that all men being incapable of reasoning, at least what is fair, every argument drawn from reason must be fallacious;—that therefore children ought not to be taught any religious principles. This was refuted by Benson, Randolph, Doddridge, and Leland.

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In 1744 was published another pamphlet, entitled, *The resurrection of Jesus considered*, in answer to bishop Sherlock's Trial of the witnesses. Annet therein pretends to prove, that Christ never foretold his death or resurrection; that the predictions recorded by the evangelists are a mere forgery; that the story of the Jews setting a watch at, and sealing the door of his sepulchre, is most absurd and incredible; that the accounts of his resurrection are contradictory, one evangelist affirming what another does not, and hence the whole a mere fiction. This was refuted by Mr Chandler, in his *Re-examination of the witnesses*, and Gilbert West, in his *Observations on the resurrection of Christ*. Annet's abuse of our Saviour occasioned him no trouble: but his scurrilous attack upon bishop Sherlock's sermons, brought him to the pillory, and to a while's confinement in Bridewell.

While Chubb lived, his writings retained some mask of a Christian; but in his posthumous works, he throws it quite aside, pretending, that God doth not concern himself with the good or evil done in the world; that prayer is no part of natural religion; that the immortality of the soul, and the doctrine of future judgment, rewards, and punishments, are quite uncertain; that there can be no certainty of a revelation's coming from God; that the Jewish scriptures fully the character of the Deity; that Christ's mission was probably divine, but the proofs hereof are uncertain; that his resurrection is absurd and incredible; that it cannot be determined what Christianity really is; that the Bible has been the chief source of heresy and schism, and exhibits a variety of tenets, dishonourable to God, and injurious to men. He pretends, that all our Saviour's instructions are to be understood in the most literal sense; that many passages in the epistles misrepresent the Deity, and encourage men

to sin; that it is uncertain what books are canonical or not; that the scriptures have been corrupted; that prophecy can be no part of divine revelation, as till the accomplishment it may be a forgery; that a benevolent and wise God would never have exhibited predictions in a manner so obscure; that there is nothing extraordinary in the fate of the Jewish nation; that miracles are no proof of doctrines, or of a divine mission; that the scripture-account of miracles is very uncertain; that at first, the apostles gave out Christianity to be only a supplement of the law of Moses, and a favour granted to the Jews alone; but afterwards changed their plan, and so deserve no credit; and that they set out with this fundamental principle, that Christians should have but one common stock, of which the clergy should be the sole managers;—and in fine, he pretended, that all religions are equally respected of God.—If the *Case of Deism* stated was his, he therein maintains, that all the true precepts of morality in the Christian religion, were borrowed from Deism. His writings against revelation have been confuted by Hallet, Le Moyne, Fleming, Leland, Benson, and others.

In his lifetime, lord Bolingbroke attacked the credibility of the Jewish history, as it is so little supported by the Grecian narratives; and yet represents these last as fabulous and incredible. This was answered by the bishop of Clogher, and by Hervey, and Leland. His posthumous works were an insolent attack upon all religion natural and revealed. He pretends, that we ought to ascribe to God no moral perfections different from his power and wisdom; that it is blasphemy to talk of imitating God in moral perfections; that though his providence extend to collective bodies, it doth not to individuals; that the human soul is of the same substance with the body; that the doctrine of future rewards and punishments is a mere fiction; that



that the law of nature is clear and plain to all men; but its sanctions relate only to collective bodies; that no divine revelation is necessary or useful; that the Jewish scriptures are false, incredible, and unworthy of God; that the New Testament consists of two opposite gospels, that of Jesus Christ, which, on the main, is a republication of the law of nature, and that of Paul; that some of Christ's precepts are absurd, and the whole of the mediatorial scheme unworthy of God. This has been answered by Leland, Anderson, and others.

D. Hume pretends, that there is no real connection between the cause and the effect; that the works of creation and providence do not prove God to be an intelligent cause; that we can have no certainty of any thing but by experience, and so none at all of future rewards or punishments; that as the form of virtue lies in agreeableness, cleanliness, broad shoulders, taper legs, &c. are virtues; and humility and chastity are fit to be sent to the cloisters of the monks; that the miracles recorded in scripture are not to be credited, as they are contrary to the common experience of mankind; and it is less marvellous, that all the witnesses should be deceived, than that all the miracles should be true. His opinions concerning miracles has been refuted by Adam, Rutherford, Leland, Henry, Owen, and Campbell; his other fancies by an anonymous author; and his sceptical whims of late, by Beattie of Aberdeen.

It is needless to exhibit the notions of Voltaire and Rousseau, and of the more insignificant scribblers of the infidel kind, as they contain almost nothing new against revelation. Voltaire's attack upon the credibility of scripture, has been lately answered by Mr Finlay of Glasgow. In general, the Deistical writers follow a rambling and rhapsodical manner, rather labouring to attack revelation, than to establish any thing of their own; and their chief arguments

guments are disingenuous misrepresentation, and abusive bluster.

III. The ANTITRINITARIANS, or UNITARIANS, especially the SOCINIANS, are but a kind of Deists, who make reason the principal, and revelation the subordinate standard of their religion, in so far as they find it harmonizing with reason, and comprehensible thereby. We have already mentioned opposers of the Trinity, Cerinthians, Samaritanians, Arians, Photinians, Sabellians, and others. Poland had for some ages been the receptacle of the last remains of these blasphemers. Scarce had the reformation commenced, when severals, shocked with the Popish images of the Trinity, and divine persons, and with the barbarous and presumptuous decisions of the scholastic doctors, began to deny this fundamental truth. As early as 1524, Hetzer, and other fanatical Anabaptists, denied the divinity of our Saviour. In 1527, he was burnt at Constance for his heresy. It nevertheless survived, and broke forth in different places. At Wittemberg, John Campanus taught, that the Son is inferior to the Father; and that the Holy Ghost is not the name of a person, but of the nature of the Father and Son. By teaching the same doctrine at Augsborg, and in Switzerland, and among the Grisons, Claudius, in 1530, raised no small contention.

In 1531 and 1532, Michael Servetus, a Spanish physician of considerable learning, published seven books concerning the errors of the Trinitarian doctrine; and, travelling into France, he, after some years, published his *Christianity restored*. He insolently railed against the Trinity as a three-headed monster; and expressed himself concerning the generation of the Son, in a manner too shocking to be related. He virulently reviled Moses, as one of the basest impostors. His learning, his resolution,  
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his zeal for his opinions, his obstinacy of temper, and external shew of piety, with the number of his friends in Italy, France, and Germany, seemed to promise him remarkable success : but he was disappointed. Having escaped from his prison at Vienne, he fled from France, through Switzerland, to seek shelter in Italy. Calvin loudly warned the people of his errors ; and his servant accused him before the council of Geneva, as he staid at that place. Finding him possessed of a peculiar arrogance, and malignancy of spirit, obstinate in his blasphemy, and given to rail at the fundamental truths of their religion, notwithstanding all that Calvin and others could do to reclaim him, the magistrates condemned him to be burnt. He died quite obstinate ; but roaring out to the magistrates for mercy, and crying that secret things belonged to God. The Lutherans, who have sometimes burnt blasphemers, the Socinians, and the Arminians, have loudly exclaimed against Calvin, as if the procurer of the death of this horrible blasphemer ; but himself defies the world to manifest, that he ever, after his conviction, mentioned the punishing of him : and others affirm, that none of the Reformed clergy would be concerned in his punishment. Servetus pretended, that the true doctrine of the gospel had been lost ever since the council of Nice, and that he had a commission from God to restore it. He insisted, that before the creation of the world, God produced in himself two representations of himself, the Son and the Holy Ghost ; by whom he revealed his mind to men, and converted them to himself ; that after the destruction of this earth, both of them should cease their existence, and be absorbed into the substance of the Deity. He excluded infants from baptism ; and on the main, his system of morals was pretty similar to that of the Anabaptists. Whatever influence his writings had in corrupting mens minds, it is

not



not certain that he left so much as one formal disciple.

Valentine Gentilis of Naples, who was executed for his heresy at Bern in 1566, was an Arian, who considered the Son and Holy Ghost as persons, but subordinate to the Father. Gonselius, who fled to Poland, and disseminated his heresy there, seems to have been another. Matthew Gribaldi, whose death prevented his condemnation, maintained, that the divine nature is divided into three eternal spirits, distinguished from one another in number and subordination; and so was properly a Tritheist. We cannot precisely affirm what were the blasphemies of Alciat or Tellius, who, in 1559, were banished from Geneva; or of Paruta, Leonardi, and others, who were reckoned the followers of Servetus.

Some inform us, that about forty persons, who denied the doctrine of the Trinity, of whom Lelius Socinus, and Ochino, were the principal, about 1546, constituted themselves into a society at Venice, and therein formed the scheme of Socinianism; and that being detected, and some of them put to death, the rest fled for fear of the inquisition, and spread themselves into different countries, to propagate their errors. But it is certain, that if any such society really existed, Ochinus, who after being a famous preacher of the Reformed religion in Italy, and afterwards at Zurich, paved the way to Socinianism, pretending to reason against it, but making the objections stronger than the answers, could not be one of them, as he left Italy, and came to Geneva in 1543. Being afterwards banished from Zurich, on account of his erroneous and licentious doctrine, he retired to Poland, where he joined the Unitarians. Lelius Socinus could scarce be their chief, as he was then very young, and left Italy especially for the sake of improvement, and returned to it in 1551. Moreover, nothing can be more

certain, than that, if ever such a society existed, they had fled from Venice, and dispersed themselves ere they had formed any plan of Socinianism.

It is certain, that when the Papists, Lutherans, and Reformed, exerted themselves, opposing the Anabaptists, particularly such as blasphemed the holy Trinity, many of them fled into Poland, where, by concealing or disguising their opinions, they, for a time, enjoyed a peaceful toleration, along with the Protestants. But having insinuated themselves into the favour of some of the nobility, and other persons of influence, they, about 1562, began to declare their principles, and to trouble the Swiss churches in Poland. To check their contests, the diet of Petrikow, *A. D.* 1565, appointed the unquiet Unitarians to erect themselves into a separate congregation; which they did at Pinczow; and in which Blandrata, king Stephen Bathori's physician, Statorius, and Lismanin, were their principal supporters. Most of them contented themselves with the Arian doctrine, that the Son and Holy Ghost are persons of a nature subordinate to the Father, and begotten by him: but some of their most eminent doctors believed our Saviour to have been a mere man, who had no existence till he was conceived of the Virgin; but by means of his virtuous behaviour, and the favour of the Deity, became a god of the secondary kind.

While they were in perpetual danger from the Popish, Lutheran, and Calvinist doctors, they fell into almost ruinous divisions among themselves. Farnovius, who being instructed of Gonselius, preferred the Arian scheme, as to the Son, though we know not what was his opinion concerning the Holy Ghost; only, that he warned against the worshipping of him separated from the rest, in 1568, and was followed by Czechovius, Niemoiovius, Stanislaus, Wisnowius, Falcon, Schoman, and

and others. Some Unitarians pretended, that Christ had scarce any dignity at all, but that of a divine messenger and true prophet.—Budneus and his followers maintained, that he was born in an ordinary manner, and was no proper object of worship. Others of them insisted for introducing a community of goods, an equality of ranks, and other similar fancies of the Anabaptists. By the dexterity of some of their principal doctors, they were extricated out of their troubles; and, in a little time, the factions among them were suppressed; and they erected flourishing churches at Cracow, Lublin, Pinczow, Luck, and Smila; which last belonged to the learned Dudith, a Popish bishop of Tinia, who turning Protestant, became, at least for a time, a Socinian; and in several other places of Poland and Lithuania. They obtained an unrestricted liberty of printing their books; hence they, in 1574, published a version of the scripture at Cracow, suited to their own taste, and a catechetical declaration of their principles; which, though considerably cautious and simple, exhibits some of their heresies.—John of Siennio, palatine of Podolia, gave them a settlement in his new city of Racow, which they afterwards made the principal place of their deliberatory conventions. All this time, they were called *Anabaptists*, and zealously retained their manner of baptism.

Lelius Socinus, a lawyer of uncommon erudition and genius, and of an unblemished practice, conceiving a disgust of Popery, left Italy in 1547, and travelled through France, England, Germany, and Poland, to improve himself, and to examine the principles of the different sects of Protestants. He settled at Zurich, and died in 1562, before he was forty years of age. His mild temper rendered him extremely averse to contention. He even professed himself a member of the Protestant church at Zurich; but hinted his theological opinions to



not a few of the learned; and the papers which he had left in Poland, seem to have mightily conducted to persuade the Unitarians, that Christ was originally a mere man.

Faustus Socinus his nephew, whose learning was but very moderate, but his genius, courage, and resolution, remarkable, having perused Lelius's papers, formed a system more regular, and near akin to the Deistical or the Mahometan, in which every distinguishing doctrine of the Christian faith was abandoned. After wandering through several countries, he settled in Poland in 1579. At first, the Unitarians and Anabaptists, looking upon fundry of his tenets as highly erroneous, gave him no small trouble. But by the power of his eloquence, his mild and engaging behaviour, and by the influence of some great men whom he had seduced, he at length triumphed over all opposition; and yielding, or standing his ground, upon proper occasions, he made the whole body of the Unitarians submit to his doctrine, and unite into one society, under his direction. He mightily reformed their doctrinal system, which before was ill digested, ill expressed, and oft inconsistent. He disguised its inconsistencies, gave it an appearance of connection, elegance, and method, and defended it with no small dexterity and art. Under the direction of this spirited and insinuating chief, the number of profelytes was very considerable. Of these, some were remarkable for their nobility and opulence, and others for their address, learning, or eloquence. Both classes, in different respects, contributed to the advancement of the common cause. If any who agreed with him in the principal points, stood at a distance on account of some more inconsiderable ones, as the rebaptizing of such as had been baptized in their infancy, Socinus pretended that the matter was indifferent, and that as baptism was chiefly a rite of initiating converted Heathens

Heathens into the Christian church, it was no matter whether the infants of believers were baptized or not. A new catechism was drawn up by Socinus, or perhaps by Smalcus, at his direction; and which was further enlarged and corrected by the other doctors of this sect, and published at Racow. It was given out for their *Confession of faith*, but in reality was no more than a collection of the most popular tenets of the party, leaving out such as tended to render them odious. It served rather to impose upon strangers, than to be a standard of faith to themselves, every one being left to embrace or reject the tenets thereof, as he pleased. About 1600, Jacobus of Sienna, to whom Racow belonged, deserted the Reformed, and, joining the Socinians, built them a college for learning in that city.

By the influence of Blandrata, now physician to Sigismund, duke of Transylvania, a man of great address, and of uncommon skill in intrigue, and of Francis David, his minister, who accompanied him from Poland, the Unitarians were admitted into that country, the whole province infected, and full liberty given to propagate their errors. Notwithstanding Blandrata's influence with the Bathori, who afterwards ruled Transylvania, they and their successors hated the Socinian heresy; but, dreading the power of the party, they did not annul the treaties, which secured them their liberty of worship, and seminaries of learning. They were nevertheless exposed to the continual insults and harassments of their enemies. About the same time, they attempted to form settlements in Hungary and Austria; but the joint labours of the Popish and Protestant doctors defeated their project.

Supported by so many men of power, wealth, and learning, they, about the end of the century, meditated the propagation of their heresies through-

out all Europe. They published their commentaries, and other theological labours, at Racow; and thence, with great ardour and zeal, dispersed them abroad. They dispatched missionaries, qualified by the lustre of their birth, the extent of their learning, and the power of their eloquence, into the nations around, to disseminate their doctrines. Erasmus John, Ostorodi, and Voiviodi, zealously applied themselves to the Dutch; but the vigilance of the clergy and magistrates, prevented their acquiring any remarkable degree of strength or stability in Holland. The magistrates banished the missionaries, and ordered their books to be publicly burnt. Socinianism met with no better reception in Britain. Adam Neuser, and others, attempted to infect the Palatinate on the Rhine; but their scheme was disconcerted. Neuser and Sylvan were imprisoned for a plot against the government. Neuser escaping, fled into Turkey, turned Mahometan, enlisted himself among the Janizaries; at last, he died in a most horrible manner, as one entering into everlasting fire. The Turks, shocked with the appearance, called him the *devil's child*.

Whatever learning some of the principal founders of Socinianism had, the party in general esteemed it but little. At first, they gave no encouragement to it; but afterwards changed their mind, when they saw the need of learned men to defend their cause. Socinus, and his assistants, laboured to promote the love and study of science. In their colleges of Lublin and Racow, they instructed their studious youth in eloquence and rhetoric, and in the most important branches of Latin, Grecian, and oriental learning. They studied a thorough acquaintance with the originals of scripture, that they might be capable to pervert the same, by some different translation, or various reading. They taught their principal scholars the Aristotelian philosophy,



losophy, to prepare them for cavilling. In handling theology, they, for the better deceiving of the people, pretended to reject all philosophy and art, and to adhere to the simple and inspired expressions of scripture. But in their disputations, they practised every scholastic subtlety they could, for disguising of the truth: and what was extremely odd, they reasoned with great appearance of accuracy, upon such subjects as were quite above the sphere of reason, and with great awkwardness, where reasoning might have been remarkably useful. They rather laboured to demolish the systems adopted by others, than to form and support one of their own.

The Socinians pretended to extract their whole theology from the scriptures; but they affirmed, that the sense thereof is to be adjusted by reason, nothing being to be deduced from scripture, which reason cannot comprehend. This trial, they pretended, was the more necessary, as the penmen of scripture, enjoying nothing but a mere superintendency of the Holy Ghost, in much of what they had written, had fallen into a considerable number of lesser mistakes, and had often expressed themselves in a manner very indistinct and obscure. The *reason*, according to which all religious opinions, and the sense of scripture, are to be adjusted, they insisted, is that measure of discernment, which every man derives from nature. Thus they left every man at liberty, to reject or modify whatever he finds in scripture, concerning the divine persons, perfections, purposes, or works; and concerning the method of man's salvation, in its contrivance, purchase, application, and blessings, as the extent or bias of his corrupt faculties influenced him; and so made as many standards of religion, as there are human minds; for setting aside all consideration of particular bias, what the intelligent can receive, the ignorant must reject, as unintelligible.

intelligible jargon. Orthodoxy in sentiment, they looked on as a very small part, if any at all, of religion, which consists wholly in knowing the scriptures to be the word of God, though, in smaller matters, sadly corrupted by the penmen; and in believing the promises, and obeying the precepts thereof. Hence they insisted, that good Christians of all denominations, ought to unite in church-fellowship, be what their principles will; and that it is a senseless and sinful bigotry, to think or act otherwise. In short, the sum of their theology was, that God is infinitely more perfect than men, though somewhat similar to them in rational faculties, if not also in corporeal shapes; that, by some extraordinary influence, Jesus Christ, a mere man, was conceived of his mother; was, before entering on his public ministry, taken up into heaven, instructed in the knowledge of divine things, and thence sent down to correct and enlarge the moral precepts of the Old Testament, and to preach the gospel, and confirm it by his miracles, his holy example, and martyrdom, and afterwards to ascend to heaven, and become a priest, and the object of divine worship; that all such as perfectly obey him, and persevere in so doing till the end, as every man is able to do if he please, shall hereafter be clothed with new bodies, and therein live eternally with God; and that such as disobey him, shall, after enduring terrible torments in their soul, be totally annihilated. Their moral system, confining the duties of religion, to the external acts of worship or practice, excluded all necessity of the assistance of the Holy Ghost. But, imagining that Jesus came to give a more perfect law than Moses, great numbers of them pretended, it was unlawful to avenge injuries, take oaths, inflict capital punishments, oppose tyrants, acquire wealth by honest industry, and the like.

Few as their principles, and large as their terms

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of church-fellowship were, they had a variety of differences among themselves, especially with the Budneians and the Farnovians. Budneus, who was a man of no small sagacity, and more dexterous than some others, in drawing consequences from principles, flatly denied, that any divine worship ought to be given to Christ, whom he reckoned a mere man, born in a natural manner. On this account, he and his followers, who were pretty numerous in Lithuania and Polish Russia, were excommunicated by the rest, about 1584. It is said, Budneus abandoned his offensive conclusions, and was readmitted to his brethrens communion. Francis David, superintendent of the Socinian churches in Transylvania, adopted his sentiments, and with great zeal opposed the worshipping of Christ. Blandrata employed all the power of his eloquence to reclaim him; and in 1573, sent for Socinus from Poland to conquer his stiffness. Continuing obstinate, David was thrown into prison, where he died, in 1579. His disciples stood firm to their principles, and created much uneasiness to Socinus and his party in Lithuania and Poland. The most eminent of them were Jacob Paleologus, of the isle of Chio, who was burnt at Rome, in 1585; Christian Franken, who in a dispute put Socinus so hard to his shifts; and John Sommer, master of the academy at Clausenburg, or Colosowar in Transylvania. Here they had a numerous body, a public school, and a printing-house. Here, till 1603, they had the cathedral, which was then taken from them, and given to the Jesuites, whose college they had pulled down. Perhaps Blandrata, who, it is said, deserted to the Jesuites, and had his neck broke in his bed by the devil, or rather by his covetous heir, had an hand in the lose of their cathedral.

On a variety of occasions, Socinus, and his party, represented the worship of Jesus Christ as  
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a matter of indifference; and pretended it was a strong act of faith to address the Deity in an immediate manner; but to avert the popular odium, they most disingenuously reproached the Budneians as half Jews, and persecuted them with no small severity. The most of the Socinians treated the Arian Farnovians with more indulgence. They neither excluded them from their communion, nor required them to renounce their opinions, but only prudently to conceal them, and never to publish them from the press or pulpit. Erasmus Johannes was admitted professor of divinity at Clausenburgh, upon condition he should never publicly teach, that Jesus existed before his conception by Mary. By the Socinians dexterous reasoning, and insinuating lenity, most of the Farnovians were brought back to their communion; and at last, the faction being deprived of an head, in 1615, they dispersed, and came to nothing.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Socinians were apparently in a most flourishing condition. In Transylvania and Lithuania, they had liberty to hold their religious assemblies, and make profession of their opinions. In Poland, they had a public college, furnished with professors of great ability, and a press for printing their books. They had a considerable number of congregations, supported by persons of high rank. Elated with their prosperity, they hoped to enlarge their sect, and procure it followers and patrons in other countries. They sent their emissaries into Prussia, Germany, Holland, and England. These, in the manner of their party, regardless of the vulgar, laboured to proselyte the men of power, learning, or wealth; but their success was not considerable. Ernest Sohner, a very learned professor of the Peripatetic philosophy at Altorf, instilled their tenets into his pupils, with no contemptible success. But his death deprived

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that infantile society of its great honour and support. Nor could the attempt be carried on, without the knowledge of the other vigilant doctors. In 1616, their designs of the same nature were discovered at Nuremberg; and when the Socinian contagion was almost become the reigning system, it was all of a sudden extinguished, by the care of the magistrates. The foreign students who were infected, saved themselves by flight; while the natives professed their sorrow for what lengths they had gone, and returned to their former principles.

In 1638, some Socinian students at Racow threw stones at a crucifix, till they had beaten it down from its place. Enraged herewith, the Catholics, with great zeal, procured an edict of the diet at Warsaw, importing, that the academy of Racow should be demolished, its professors banished with ignominy, their printing-house destroyed, and their churches shut up. Notwithstanding all the powerful patrons of the Socinian party could do, the decree was peremptorily executed. By another edict of the diet at Warsaw, in 1658, all the Socinians were for ever banished from Poland, as it was suspected they held a correspondence with the Swedes, then at war with the republic; and capital punishment was denounced against all such as should profess their opinions, or harbour their persons. Three years were allowed for the exiles to settle their affairs, and dispose of their property; but the term was afterwards reduced to two; and in 1661, the edict was renewed, and all the Socinians that remained in the country were barbarously driven out, with the loss of their goods, and others at the expence of their life, no sickness, or domestic consideration, retarding the execution of the sentence. Part of the Polish exiles, who fled to Transylvania, perished amidst the hardships they suffered. Others fled into Silesia, where the duke

duke of Brieg protected them at Crossen; and into Brandenburg, Prussia, Holland, England, Holstein, and Denmark; in the most of which places they still remain, holding their assemblies, in a clandestine manner; but they could obtain no public settlement. Lubieniecus, a Polish knight, famed for learning, eloquence, politeness, and prudence, laboured with all his might to procure them settlements. He so far prevailed with Frederic III. of Denmark, Christian Albert of Holstein, and Charles Lewis elector palatine, that Socinian settlements were upon the point of being established at Altena, Fredericstadt, and Manheim. But Svaningus, a bishop of Denmark, Reinboth of Holstein, and Lewis Fabritius of the Palatinate, and other clergy, so warmly opposed the designs, that the sovereigns thought fit to drop them. In 1656, Wislowatius published a large Bibliotheca, in a variety of folios, containing the works of Socinus, and the other celebrated doctors of the party.

Many of the dispersed Socinians entered into other ecclesiastical communions; as of the Arminians, Anabaptists, Galenists, and Collegiants, in Holland. Amidst these convulsions, it is not to be imagined, they all retained the very same sentiments, except with respect to the Trinity, and satisfaction of Christ. Chillingworth, Whichcot, and sundry others in England, were reckoned Socinians. Biddle, whom Dr Owen refutes in his *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*, more plainly declared himself of their sentiments.—The most famous of the Socinian doctors, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were Lelius, and Faustus Socinus, Smalcus, Ostorodius, Enjedinus, Crellius, Schlichtingius, Volkelius, Wolzogius; &c.—Samuel Crellius of Amsterdam is almost the only Socinian of this century that has made any remarkable figure; and even he, in many things, departed from the tenets of his

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his sect, and choosed to be called an Artemonite, rather than a Socinian.

Except the two Sandius's of Prussia, and Richardson of the college of Glasgow, I cannot remember of any thorough-paced Arians, who, after the suppression of the Farnovians, made any noise, till in the end of the seventeenth century, when Firmin, a merchant of London, revived their tenets in England. At no great distance of time, Emlyn, a dissenting minister of Dublin, with great zeal, and no small success, promoted them in Ireland. Whiston, and Samuel Clark, were their chief patrons in England. Clark allowed the Son every prerogative of divinity, self-origination and absolute independency excepted. Simson, professor in the college of Glasgow, had much the same views. For many years, in the beginning of this century, the Arian controversy was carried on with no small warmth in England and Ireland. The doctrine of the Trinity, and true divinity of Christ, was defended by Boyse of Dublin, Stillingfleet, Waterland, Gastrel, Wells, Nelson, Mayo, Knight, Calamy, Bradbury, Claget, Abraham Taylor, Sloffe, Gill, Guise, Wisheart, and many others. As the Arian doctors, by every possible method, laboured to undermine this foundation of our religion, the renowned lady Moyer, in her last-will, bequeathed a fund for preaching of eight sermons yearly, in defence of the doctrine of the Trinity by learned divines, to be chosen for that purpose by the trustees of that fund.

IV. At first the ARMINIANS differed from the Reformed in but a few articles of faith; but they gradually advanced towards the Socinians, till they met them more than half-way. About 1576, Kornhert had begun to propagate some of these errors: but properly, the sect took their rise from James Arminius, pastor at Amsterdam, and afterwards

wards professor of divinity at Leyden, in place of the deceased Junius, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. By the highest appearances of piety, penetration, and candour, he attracted a very general esteem and applause. He had been educated in the opinions of Calvin; but being fond, in the manner of the Socinians, to model every principle of the Christian religion, agreeably to human reason, he altered his sentiments, and made the free will of men the sovereign manager of the purposes and providences of God, relative to their everlasting happiness or misery. He insisted, that God had made no peremptory decree concerning any man's future felicity or damnation, but had merely determined to bestow salvation upon such as he foresaw would, till their death, persevere in their faith in Christ, and obedience to him, and to inflict endless punishments upon such as continued in their unbelief and impenitence, refusing and resisting the divine grace and favour offered to them in the gospel; that Christ, by his death, equally atoned for the sins of all mankind, and of every individual person, in such a conditional manner, that only such as commence and persevere to the end, in faith and sincere obedience, can obtain the everlasting benefit thereof; that men in general, and especially gospel-hearers, have sufficient means of salvation, and sufficient grace to improve them, bestowed upon them; that the grace of God, which rectifies the human heart, and brings to perfection whatever is really good, may be effectually resisted, and overcome, by the perverse inclinations of heedless and imprudent sinners; that though the saints have sufficient strength for persevering in grace and holiness, yet, if they neglect the due improvement thereof, and of the means of preservation afforded them in the word and providence of God, they may and do often totally and finally fall from their gracious state and course. Or, in short, that

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it is our right management of our free will, that renders the purpose of God, the death of Christ, the striving of the Holy Ghost, and the bestowal of new-covenant blessings, of any service to promote our eternal happiness.

When their principles exposed them to any danger, Arminius and Uytenbogart expressed themselves in a manner similar to that of the Lutherans. On other occasions, they more plainly hinted what they meant by such soft and ambiguous expressions. It is said by some, but flatly contradicted by others, that Arminius for a time taught the Calvinist opinions in public, whilst he more privately instructed such he could trust in his own. Finding that many, chiefly some of high rank, were mightily disgusted with the doctrine of God's absolute decrees; that the Dutch were not obliged by their Confession of faith, or any public law, to teach the opinions of Calvin; he at length dared to propagate his own sentiments, in the most open manner. This involved him in some contests with Gomarus his colleague, an high Supralapsarian, and of a warm temper, which perhaps gave Arminius, who was sedate and crafty, no small advantage against him.

In 1609, Arminius died, leaving his country all inflamed with contest and confusion about his opinions. No inconsiderable attempts were made to instal Vorstius, an half Socinian, in his stead; but king James of England, in a fit of his zeal for orthodoxy, interfering, he was laid aside, and Episcopius, a more crafty and smooth Arminian, obtained the professorship. Gomarus resigned his office, and Polyander was installed in his room. For a time, the controversy appeared to be carried on with equal success. In 1610, the Arminians gave in a *remonstrance* to the states of Holland, petitioning for a free toleration of their principles. Barneveldt, Grotius, Hoogerberts, and others of their



partisans, suggested, that this was but reasonable in a free state, and which had so lately thrown off the yoke of despotism and tyranny. A formal toleration was not granted; but for some years, the statesmen, Maurice prince of Orange, and Stadtholder, not excepted, continued pacific measures. In 1611, a conference, in order to agreement, or mutual forbearance, was held at the Hague, and another at Delft, in 1614, between the Calvinist and Remonstrant theologians; and that very year, the States General, by an edict, solemnly exhorted them to charity and bearing with one another: but all proved ineffectual. As most of these, whose practice was loose and profane, took part with the Arminians, and were caressed by them; and as the party appeared to be fast approaching towards Socinianism, reckoning the professors thereof good Christians, and making wide stretches to extenuate such of their errors as they did not embrace; nay, Vorstius, one of their chiefs, had represented the Deity as no more than some very great man possessed of corporeal shapes; the Calvinists therefore thought they ought to oppose them as underminers of the Christian religion. While Barnevelt, Grotius, and Hoogerberts, supported the Remonstrants, Maurice the Stadtholder, and whom they suspected of affecting a supremacy over his country, took the part of the Calvinists. As the other three heartily opposed him, and were, how justly I know not, charged with designs of surrendering their country to the Spaniards, Barnevelt lost his life on a scaffold, and the other two were, in 1619, condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Grotius made his escape, concealed in a chest, instead of a parcel of his books.

After terrible contention and disorder in cities, presbyteries, and provincial synods, the States General, not without much opposition, called a general synod at Dort in 1618. It consisted, not only of deputies from the seven United Provinces of Holland,

Holland, &c. but also from Britain, Switzerland, Palatinate, Wetteraw, Embden, and Bremen. Lewis of France prohibited these of his country to attend. The Arminians, headed by the eloquent Episcopus, appeared at the synod; but pretending it was chiefly composed of their known adversaries, they refused to be judged; and insisted for a conference on equal terms; and that they should open their cause with an attack upon the doctrine of peremptory reprobation. This, they hoped, would, in the very entry, render the Calvinists cause odious to the people. Whilst they did all that lay in their power to insinuate themselves into the favour of the foreign deputies, nothing could persuade them to submit to the court. After much altercation, part of it trifling, or not to the purpose, they were obliged to present a declaration of their principles in writ. In this, called their *Synodalia*, they, with great labour and craft, defended their leading principles, and attacked their adversaries. They retired from Dort; but the synod having examined their declaration, condemned their five original principles, and established the contrary in their absence. The Remonstrants were hereupon considered as corrupters of religion; and their refusal to submit to the judgment of the synod was reckoned a rebellion against the laws of their country. They, though not merely for their bad principles, were treated with considerable severity. These of the party were deprived of offices, civil and ecclesiastic, especially where some other matter added weight to that of their obstinacy in their errors. Their ministers were prohibited to preach; and their refusal to obey, drew upon them fines, imprisonment, exile, and other marks of ignominy. Their people, however loose many of them were in their morals, loudly pretended regard to their conscience in adhering to them. Many, both pastors

and people, retired to Antwerp or France. A considerable number of them, invited by Frederic duke of Holstein, settled in his dominions, and built for themselves the city of Fredericstadt in Sleswic; where they still enjoy the free exercise of their religion. Vander Wael, the first governor, with Vorstius, Grevinkovius, Goulart, Grævius, Walters, and Narsius, clergymen, were the chiefs of this colony.

After the death of Maurice the Stadtholder, in 1625, the Arminian exiles were recalled by Henry his brother and successor. It was judged impolitic to keep up religious contentions at home, while the States were engaged in a war with the Spaniards. Such as had taken shelter in France, or the Netherlands, quickly returned, and erected churches at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and several other places, under the shadow of a mild toleration. They founded a college at Amsterdam, in which two professors were appointed to instruct their candidates for the ministry, in the various branches of literature, human or sacred. Episcopus was their first professor of divinity, and has been succeeded by Curcellæus, Poelenburg, Limborch, Brandt, Le Clerk, Catenburg, and Wetstein, of whom Poelenburg and Limborch were the least erroneous, and Clerk has published a commentary on the Bible, and Wetstein one upon the New Testament.

After the synod of Dort, the Arminians, in pursuance of their founder's plan, explained the five articles above mentioned, in a way more contrary to the Calvinist tenets; and dragging the Christian doctrines to the bar of their reason, they exceedingly modified many of them. In some respect or other, they embraced a great part of the Socinian tenets; and what they could not embrace, they represented as of very small importance in religion. The doctrine of the Trinity, of Christ's divinity,

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and eternal pre-existence, and of his satisfaction for mens sin, they represented, as not necessary to be known and believed, in order to salvation. They pretended great zeal for peace and unity among Christians, notwithstanding of difference in principle. They maintained, that Christ more demands virtue than faith; that he has confined the necessary articles of faith to a very few; and that charity and virtue, not rectitude in opinion, ought to be the principal study of Christians. They insisted, that all ought to be admitted to church-fellowship; (1.) Who receive the scriptures, especially the New Testament, as the rule of their faith, understand the passages thereof as they will; and who, (2.) Abstain from idolatry, and the maintenance of more gods than one; and who, (3.) Live a decent and virtuous life, regulated by the law of God; and who, (4.) Discover no spirit of persecution or ill-will towards such as differ from them in religious sentiments or interpretations of scripture. By these terms of communion, only the Papists were excluded, and these chiefly for their persecuting spirit. The Arminian charity was almost wholly confined to the side of error and looseness in practice. While they admitted to their fellowship the Socinians, and multitudes extremely loose in their morals; they, when they had power on their side, most maliciously persecuted such as were Calvinists and truly tender Christians, as the reigns of the two Charles's of Britain abundantly demonstrate. Nor is it uncommon to see the high pretenders to Catholic communion, the most bitter reproachers of such as cannot give into their lax courses, or erroneous tenets.

As their society, composed without regard to uniformity of principle, had no fixed *formula* of doctrine, the want of which, in that age, was accounted a reproach, they adopted for their confession a theological system, drawn up by Episcopus, mostly

mostly in the express words of scripture, but sufficiently disjointed and wrested. None of their clergy are obliged to adhere even to this, but are, by their fundamental constitution, allowed to interpret the expressions thereof, in a manner agreeable to their own opinions. Upon the doctrines of predestination and grace, all their doctors are pretty unanimous, believing, that the love of God extends itself equally to all mankind; and that no means of everlasting happiness or misery, are fixed by his absolute decree, but the whole issue depends upon man's free will. On other points they are not agreed; nor have they ever explained, why God made men with this free will, which himself cannot over rule, even for their good; or why God is not under equal obligation, to love and save the devils, as do so to all mankind.

In the provinces of Holland, they have thirty-four congregations, furnished with eighty-four pastors. It is said, these congregations are upon the decline, which is perhaps owing to the people now finding so little difference between their and the established preachers. It is certain, Arminianism, especially on the five original points, is exceedingly spread, and is become the prevalent system, really believed and taught in the Protestant churches. Almost immediately after the synod of Dort, Laud and his party propagated it with all their might in Britain and Ireland. Rutherford, and many others, were cruelly persecuted for opposing it. About 1640, Laud's power and principles received a considerable check. Nevertheless, John Goodwin, and others, keenly propagated Arminianism. After 1660, it became the fashionable doctrine of the Episcopalists. Barrow, Tillotson, Boyle, Lock, Newton, and Addison, were the mild supporters and ornaments thereof. In our times, perhaps none has dressed it out with more strength of argument than Whitby; and none with more slyness and dishonesty.

honesty, than Taylor of Norwich, and John Wesley the Methodist chief. By some modifications, Baxter introduced a considerable part of the Arminian system, into the theological sentiments of many of the Presbyterian clergy in Britain; nor have their successors been duly averse to embrace the whole. Arminianism also penetrated into France, and their tenets were, at least in part, modified by Cameron, Amyraut, and their followers. By means of Alphonfus, Turretine, and others, Arminianism has got a numerous body of votaries in Geneva and Switzerland. Almost all the Lutherans fell in with the Arminian plan, somewhat modified. They had some notions tending that way, before Arminius made his appearance. It is said, Leibnitz and Wolfius's philosophical attacks upon the liberty of indifference in the will, have diminished the credit of the Arminian tenets in Germany, and some places of Switzerland.

The external forms of divine worship, and of government, in the Arminian churches of Holstein and Holland, as were once these of the Socinians, are much similar to these of the Presbyterian party. But their chief men neglect no opportunity of professing their high regard to Prelacy, and are fond of maintaining a fraternal correspondence with the leading men of the English church.

Whether to reckon the *Collegiants* a branch of the *Remonstrants*, I hardly know. While the Arminian contest raged in Holland, two brethren of the name of Vander Kodde, both, it is said, of noted piety, and great enemies to theological warfare, founded this society. They admitted all that professed to believe the divinity of the scripture, and studied a virtuous practice. In the provinces of Holland and Utrecht, their numbers are now very considerable. Upon every Lord's day and Wednesday, they meet for divine worship. After singing a psalm or hymn, and a prayer, they explain a  
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part of the New Testament. All the males, without respect of persons, are allowed to declare their mind, or to object to the opinions of others, providing it be done with Christian charity and moderation. They have printed lists of the passages to be examined at each meeting, so that every one who pleases may come up, prepared to descant thereon. They have two general meetings a-year, at Rhinsberg, near Leyden, where they have houses fitted up for the education of orphans, and reception of strangers. On these occasions they take the Lord's supper; and such as desire baptism, receive it by dipping. These of Friesland, finding it inconvenient to attend at Rhinsberg, have an annual assembly at Leewarden, for receiving the sacraments.

In such a society, where all opinions are free, and where zeal for promoting of practical religion, and of the knowledge of the scripture, is the only professed bond of union, one could scarce have expected schisms. But when John and Paul Bredenburgs, merchants of Rotterdam, formed a particular society, in which John gave a course of lectures upon natural religion, Abraham Lammerman, and Francis Cuiper, merchants of Amsterdam, highly disapproved of their conduct. In the heat of their dispute, John Bredenburg manifested his belief of the Atheistical opinions of Spinoza, while he declared his persuasion of the divine original of Christianity. To reconcile these two, he pretended that philosophy and theology stand in direct contradiction to one another. Cuiper too, in one of the tracts he wrote against Bredenburg, gave reason to suspect himself of Spinosism.

V. What sects we have mentioned were of the rational, what follow are of the enthusiastic kind. If we consider, that the ANABAPTISTS started up all of a sudden, under a variety of leaders, when the attention of Europe was fixed on the disputes be-

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tween the pontiffs and our first reformers, it is no wonder we scarce know their real original. The Mennonites pretend to be the descendants of the ancient Waldenses; many of whom maintained, that the church of Christ is an assembly of real saints, and ought to be inaccessible to wicked men; that therein no human law ought to be used for checking of vice, or reforming of men from it. But how to obtain this pure state of the church, they were not agreed. Some hoped it might be obtained, if every person, in his station, would exert himself for the purging out of corrupt persons and customs, and in his practice revive the manners and spirit of the primitive Christians. Others expected God himself would purify his church by means of persons qualified and appointed to that work by an extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghost. Both thought the reformation begun by Luther and Zuinglius, far short of the desired perfection; but they supposed the time was come when they ought to exert themselves, or God would exert his power in purifying his church. The *Mennonites* refuse the name of *Anabaptists* or *Rebaptizers*, alledging they baptize none that were formerly baptized according to the command of Christ. This, however, is but a pitiful juggle; for they reckon none baptized in infancy, or by such as they deem not true church-members, baptized according to the command of Christ.

Springing up in different places, under so many different leaders, they formed themselves into a multiplicity of sects. These who had Munzer, Stubner, and Stork, who fancied themselves under a divine impulse, and endued with the power of working miracles, for their chiefs, were the most pernicious, and drew a lasting odium and hatred upon their fellow-sectaries, some of whom were far more harmless and innocent. These, and other leaders, as if inspired of God, ran about preaching and exhorting the people to repentance and reformation;

reformation ;—and to increase their proselytes, related multitudes of their spiritual experiences, visions, and revelations. Finding that the ministry of the Reformers retarded their success, Munzer, in 1525, assembled a numerous army, chiefly of the peasants of Suabia, Thuringia, Franconia, and Saxony. At the head of this deluded rabble, many of whom at first seem to have intended no more than to free themselves from the oppression of their superiors, or to procure booty, he declared war against all laws, government, and magistrates; pretending, that Jesus Christ himself was just going to take the sole rule over the nations. Luther's gentle entreaties and reasonings availing nothing to make them desist, the elector of Saxony, and other princes, fell upon them with the sword. It is said, about an hundred thousand of them were killed. Munzer was apprehended, and put to an ignominious death. The terrible effects of this mad insurrection rendered the party odious.

After they were dispersed, the Anabaptists became more timorous. Multitudes, however, under the direction of Hetzer, Hubmeyer, Mentz, Grabel, Hoffman, and Jacob, persevered in their delusion; and ran about, pretending to be ambassadors of God, but abandoning themselves to every thing horrid. Had their power corresponded to their inclinations, they had involved all Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, in murder and ravage. Many of them appear to have been perfectly delirious. Nor can any thing be imagined more extravagant, or even blasphemous, than the effusions of their disordered brains. Such as could reduce their fancies to any form, pretended, as their leading principles, that the Christian church ought to be free of all sin; that the faithful ought to have all things in common; that all usury, tribute, and tithes, ought to be abolished; that the baptism of infants was invented by the devil; that every Christian



istian is divinely invested with power to preach the gospel, and consequently there is no need of ministers; that in the kingdom of Christ civil magistracy is entirely useless; and that God still continues to manifest his will to his chosen favourites by dreams and visions. While many who, in the main, were pious and upright, through weakness, and an ill-guided desire of reformation, were seduced to the party, it is no wonder we find vast numbers of the Anabaptists as pacific and mild as their zeal for propagating their tenets could permit.

The spread of this turbulent sect alarmed almost all the countries of Europe, and gave no small uneasiness to such as were concerned for the public safety. Kings, princes, and sovereign states, laboured, by severe edicts, and capital punishments, to restrain them. Their designs of abolishing the magistracy, and the crimes they committed in connection therewith, made them to be reckoned the pests of society. Their limiting of baptism to adult persons, and rebaptizing of many, made others to view them as heretics. Multitudes, especially on account of their rebellious principles, and their tumultuous and imprudent conduct, suffered death in all the horrors thereof. As the name of Anabaptists was so extremely odious, not a few candid and pious, and who merely maintained the exclusion of infants from baptism, and of wicked persons from the fellowship of the church, were involved in the fate of the rest. Many of them suffered death, and other hardships, with surprising resolution. Perhaps too, the Anabaptists added to the list of their martyrs numbers of other Protestants, who, in the Low Countries, suffered on account of religion.

In 1533, John Matthison, a baker, John Bockold or Bokelson, a tailor of Leyden, Rothman, a preacher, Gerard, a bookbinder, Knipperdoling, and others, assembled a number of mad visionaries, of almost

all ranks. Imagining that the spiritual kingdom of Christ was to be immediately erected, and that Munster was to be the New Jerusalem, whence his dominion should be propagated unto the ends of the world, they made themselves masters of that city, and committed therein all the enormous crimes, and ridiculous folly, which vicious inclinations, and disordered brains, could devise. Most terrible scenes of violence and tumult were exhibited in Holland. Bockhold, now king of Munster, imagining that God had made him a present of Amsterdam, Deventer, and Wesel, sent thither his bishops to spread his new gospel of sedition and carnage. Near Bole-swart, about three hundred of them attacked a monastery, drove out the monks, and pillaged their dwelling. They imagined the enemies cannons would turn against themselves; but most of that body were slain on the spot, and many of the rest were hanged. In winter 1535, twelve Anabaptists, five of them women, assembled by night at Amsterdam, in a private house. A tailor recovering from a trance, prayed and preached four hours. Next, he stript himself naked, and threw his clothes into the fire. All the rest of the company at his command did the same, and following him into the streets, ran about stark naked, denouncing the vengeance of God against great Baby on *i. e.* their opposers. Being apprehended, they refused to put on clothes, crying out that they were the *naked truth*. When they were brought to the scaffold, they sung and danced, and discovered every mark of enthusiastic frenzy. Not long after, Geelen, Bockhold's missionary bishop, laid a regular plot to make himself master of Amsterdam. On the day appointed, he and his troops took up their head-quarters at the town-house. They were attacked by the burghers and soldiery; and, after an obstinate defence, were surrounded, and put to death in the most terrible forms. This was

was judged necessary to deter others, who, in Friesland, Groningen, and other places of the Low Countries, were employed in attempting similar seditions, intending to burn the cities, murder the magistrates, and the like. In 1536, Count Waldeck, bishop of Munster, retook his city after a long siege. Bockhold, who had married eleven wives, that he might riot in sensual pleasure, was put to death in the most painful and ignominious manner.

When the reduction of their kingdom of Munster, and the severities every where exercised upon them, had brought the Anabaptists to the brink of despair, Menno Simon, once a most profligate Popish priest, but now become sober, and an Anabaptist, retrieved their affairs. Instigated by a number of the more judicious, he, in 1537, assumed the character of a public teacher; and carrying his family along with him, spent twenty-five years, travelling through the various provinces of the Netherlands, and all along the south coasts of the Baltic sea, as far as Livonia, preaching, and labouring to encourage his dispirited, and unite his disjointed brethren. His labours had remarkable success. The Anabaptists, who remained generally simple in their temper, and wearied of frantic chiefs, who had involved them in the most terrible calamities, were glad of a director, whose doctrine and manner of deportment seemed to promise better things.

Menno was a man of genius, and his natural stock of learning, and his persuasive eloquence, were sufficient to render him the oracle of an ignorant multitude. His probity, meekness, pliability of temper, gentleness, and discreet behaviour towards all ranks, with his ardent zeal for promoting of real piety and virtue, recommended him much. He gloried in conquering the ferocity of his sect, and set on foot a more mild and rational system of religion, than these had done whom



he acknowledged his brethren. He condemned all attempts to establish the kingdom of Christ upon the ruins of magistracy and civil policy. He believed not the approach of any marvellous reformation of the church, by the extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghost; nor that he now descends upon men as in the apostolic age, and by them works miracles, or grants them dreams and visions. He detested polygamy, or the divorcing of wives on trifling accounts. Meanwhile, he limited baptism to adult persons; he believed the thousand years personal reign of our Saviour upon earth, with his raised saints; he reckoned it unlawful for Christians to bear the office of magistracy, to wage war, or swear any oaths; and represented human learning as unprofitable, nay detrimental to the gospel of Christ. His peculiar tenets he so modified, that they much resembled the Protestant doctrines, or at least seemed harmless to such as had no mind to embrace them. He prevailed with his party, to cause them expel from their society the frantic wretches, who had exceedingly disgraced it.

Menno got the Anabaptists united into one body or church; but it required more than human abilities to maintain a spirit of harmony among such a motley multitude, whose notions were far enough from being uniform. In 1550, Leonard Bowen-son, and Theodore Philip, with others, commenced a warm dispute, relative to the use of excommunication, the consequences whereof still subsist. They pretended, that open transgressors ought, without any previous admonition, to be expelled the communion of the church, and excluded from all civil intercourse, even with their nearest relations. Rigid in their own behaviour, they insisted for exercising upon others, who offended, the severest course of discipline. To retain his own authority, and to reconcile these rigids with their mitigant opposers, Menno laboured to trim the matter,

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appearing sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other. This but lost him his reputation and influence with both, and inflamed the contention. The party was divided into two branches, the *Rigid* or *Fine*, and the *Moderate* or *Gross*. The former called *Flamingians* or *Flandrians*, from the place of their abode, pretended, with great accuracy, to retain the ancient discipline of their purer ancestors. But they quickly disputed among themselves, concerning the manner of treating excommunicated persons, and some points of still smaller moment, and were divided into the *Flandrians*, the *Frieslanders*, and the *Germans*, who leaving their native abodes, went, for the sake of peace, and settled in Germany. Most of these sects, in process of time, returned to the *Gross* Anabaptists or *Waterlandians*, whose sentiments and manners came nearer to these of the Reformed Protestants.

It must not be imagined, the whole of the Anabaptists submitted to Menno's direction. Of these that did not, were the *Davidists*, who had their name from David George. After laying the foundation of his sect in the Netherlands, he, in 1544, removed to Basil in Switzerland, where, by changing his name, which had become odious, and by his liberality, splendor, and probity of manners, he acquired a reputation, which he retained till his death in 1556. Just after, Nicolas Blesdyck, his son-in-law, perhaps offended he had got so small a share of his wealth, accused him of the most horrible errors. Satisfied with the evidence, the magistrates ordered his body to be dug up, and publicly burnt. It is said, he pretended to be the Son of God, and the fountain of divine wisdom;—denied the existence of angels, heaven, or hell, and the future judgment;—and trampled upon all the rules of modesty with the utmost contempt. His pretences to inspiration, his disregard of external religion,

religion, and his obscure manner of expression, gave his enemies an handle against him. But from his writings, and from his disciples still remaining in Holstein, Friesland, and other places, one is tempted to think, his sense and probity were greater than is commonly believed, and that his sentiments and manners were much the same as these of the Quakers.—While David pretended, the essence of religion to consist in contemplation and silence, Henry Nicolas of Westphalia, one of his companions, made the whole of religion to lie in inward feelings and burnings of divine love; and pretended, that it was little or no matter how men thought of the Deity, or behaved in external worship, if the love of God burned in their heart. He pretended God had given him an apostolical commission to teach this doctrine, and in 1555, founded his *Family of love* in Holland, whence it spread into England. Many abominable tenets have been ascribed to Henry; but whether the accusations were just, or if they were occasioned by his ignorant and affectedly odd manner of expression, I hardly know. It seems, his *Family of love* were much given to singing, dancing, and mirth.

The ancient Anabaptists, who imagined themselves under the more immediate direction of the Holy Ghost, had no inclination to lay before their followers any confessional system of principles: Nay, the rigid Mennonites, and some others, appear to have imagined, that Christians ought to have a perfect freedom of speculation, and that the whole of true religion consists in sanctity of life. At last, the Waterlandians, and others, influenced by their example, in order to remove the odium cast upon the principles of their sect, and to evite danger from the civil powers, published Confessions of their faith, in which they rather disguised, than openly exhibited some of their real sentiments. Nor, except among some of the moderate Waterlandians,



ans, are these *Formulas* considered as tests of orthodoxy, but every man is allowed to think for himself. Their doctrine, as therein exhibited, differs but little from that of the Reformed church. Their ecclesiastical worship, government, and discipline, were much the same as the Presbyterian or the Independent. Some distinguishing doctrines were held by all the Mennonites, and others only by a part. It was once a common principle, that the church of Christ is an holy society, inaccessible to wicked men, and ought to admit of no human inventions for correcting or reforming the wicked, or of any connection with the civil magistrate. But many of them now believe an invisible church, composed of the saints from among every party bearing the Christian name; and that the criterion of a true church is not unspotted sanctity of manners, but the knowledge and joint profession of the truths of Christ. Their practice, however, still flows from their ancient principle. Hence they exclude infants from baptism, because they cannot manifest themselves saints, nor bind themselves to an holy life. They admit no magistrate into their fellowship, because such are useless where there are no malefactors. They deny the lawfulness of war, because such as are perfectly holy can neither be provoked by injuries, nor can commit them. As they suppose a Christian church without crimes, they detest all civil punishments, especially such as are capital; and reckon oaths unlawful to them, because no persons perfectly holy can dissemble or deceive.

The rules of their more ancient discipline were extremely austere and rigid, requiring the utmost simplicity and gravity in their very looks, gestures, habit, and table, and a disregard of even innocent customs. But now, the Waterlandians, especially these about Amsterdam, are, if circumstances permit, as luxurious as their neighbours. Nor are their

their ancient rules of austerity respected, except among the smaller sects, especially such as live at a considerable distance from cities. The rigid Mennonites retain their wonted severities, relative to excommunication, and noncompliance with worldly fashions and customs. They also believe Menno's fancy, that our Saviour's body was not formed of the substance of the Virgin, but was brought from heaven, or created by the Holy Ghost. They reckon themselves bound to wash the feet of their guests, and generally persevere in their antipathy to human learning. Even the Waterlandians, who acknowledge its usefulness, and study to attain to it, maintain, that theology ought never to be mixed therewith. Though the Anabaptistical disputes did not much turn upon what was orthodox, or what not, but on what was lawful, just, pious, decent, or criminal and unseemly; yet the simplicity and ignorance of the disputants often disqualified them for judging of these; and so they split into parties.

After the Mennonites had long continued in an uncertain and perplexed condition, part of them, in 1572, obtained a toleration from William prince of Orange, to whom they had lent a considerable sum, for assisting him in establishing the liberty of Holland. Nevertheless, till the end of the century, both church and state persecuted them in several places, particularly at Amsterdam, and the province of Zeland. Their harmless behaviour, and zealous attachment to the common cause of liberty, gradually procured them universal pity and favour. When the publishing of their Confession in 1626, cleared them of a variety of principles laid to their charge, their liberty was established upon more solid foundations. The terrible work their predecessors had made in Germany, making them long the abhorrence of nations, and their rejection of magistracy, as not agreeable to the laws  
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of Christ, making it believed they could not be peaceable subjects, it was not, till after much solicitation, and a long trial, that they obtained this liberty. In the seventeenth century, they suffered not a little persecution, sometimes unto death, in Germany and England. About 1693 and 1694, they suffered not a little in Switzerland and in the Palatinate. In this current century their sufferings continued in the province of Bern, till the states of Holland interceded in their favours. At present they have a full toleration in Holland, Britain, the Prussian dominions, and many places of Germany.

The wiser part of the Anabaptists, perceiving that they could not expect their external tranquillity to be stable or permanent, unless they put an end to their own intestine divisions, procured a meeting of their body from Flanders, Friesland, Germany, and other places, at Amsterdam, in 1630. After mutual communication, they entered into a solemn bond of fraternal fellowship, each party retaining their own liberty with respect to the less important topics of difference from one another. This association they renewed and confirmed, by another regulation in 1649. They are, nevertheless, still divided into the two large sects of the *Refined austere*, or *Flandrians*, and the *Gross moderate*, or *Waterlandians*; each of which parties is subdivided into several smaller sects, some whereof agree with the rest in little more than the name, and some ancient opinion.

To this day the *Refined* are rigid followers of Menno, with respect to the origin of our Saviour's body, the washing of the disciples feet, the excommunicating, and avoiding, as a dangerous plague, such as sin openly, or even, in the slightest instance, depart from the simplicity of their ancestors, or indulge themselves in the appearance of evil; and are no less avowed contemners of human learning.

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Their church-government is a mixture of the Presbyterian and Independent. Their first order is of *bishops* or *elders*, who preside in their consistories, and administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper. The next is the *teachers*, who are set apart for officiating in public worship. The third is the *deacons*, who consist of both sexes. They allow of no ruling elders. All matters of importance are proposed, examined, and decided, in the meetings of the brethren. Their officers are all chosen by the suffrages of the community, and, except the deacons, are installed by public prayer, and laying on of hands. The most considerable subdivision of this sect, is the followers of Uke Walles, a rustic of Friesland. About 1637, he and John Leus took it into their heads, to maintain, that Judas, and the other murderers of our Saviour, could not fail to be saved, as their sin happening in that dark period, between Jesus' birth and the descent of the Holy Ghost, could not deserve the severest displays of the justice of God. His Mennonite brethren excommunicated Uke Walles from their church, and the magistrates of Groningen banished him their city. Returning afterwards to East Friesland, he drew to his opinions a considerable number, whose successors still remain there, or in Lithuania and Prussia. Whether they persevere in the fanciful peculiarity of Uke Walles, we know not: but they rebaptize all that come to them from other societies. They wear the meanest apparel, and avoid every thing tending to elegance or ornament. They allow their beards to grow to an enormous length, and their uncombed hair hangs over their shoulders. Their countenances are deep marked with dejection and melancholy. Their houses and furniture are merely fitted to answer the ends of necessity. They, with great zeal, shun every thing that has the remotest aspect towards learning or science. He who

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who in the least swerves from their rules, is immediately excommunicated, and avoided as a plague. Their inspectors or bishops are chosen by an assembly, composed of all the congregations of the sect, who dwell in the country.

The Waterlandians, and such as along with them entered into the fraternal association, have dropt the severe discipline and singular opinion of Menno. They are divided into the Waterlanders, and the Frieslanders; but this difference merely respects their place of abode. Neither party have any bishops, but only presbyters and deacons. Each congregation is independent of all foreign jurisdiction, having its own court of government, composed of the presbyters and deacons. But the supreme power being in the hands of the people, nothing of importance can be transacted without their consent. Their presbyters are generally men of learning; and they have a public professor at Amsterdam, for instructing their youth in the different branches of erudition, sacred and profane. About 1664, the Waterlanders were split into the two factions of the Galenists, and the Apostoolians. Galen Abraham, doctor of physic, and pastor of the Mennonites at Amsterdam, a man of uncommon penetration and eloquence, inclined towards the Arian and Socinian tenets, and insisted for the reception of all such into their church-fellowship, as acknowledged the divine authority of the scriptures, and led virtuous lives. He and his followers renounced the designation of Mennonites. They were with great zeal opposed by Samuel Apostool, another physican, and eminent pastor at Amsterdam, who, with his followers, admitted none to their communion, but such as professed to believe all the points of doctrine contained in their public Confession of faith.

Whether all the *Anabaptists* or *Baptists* of England once maintained the whole peculiarities of Menno, is not so evident. It is certain, some of them did. During the reigns of Henry, Elizabeth,

sabeth, and James I. they were persecuted, and severals of them burnt. In 1620, severals of them, along with other Puritans, transported themselves to America; where, at first, they suffered fundry hardships from their New-English brethren; but now they have a considerable number of churches in these colonies, particularly in Pensylvania. During the Cromwellian period, the Baptists had some liberty, and made no inconsiderable noise and progress in England. During the reign of Charles and James II. they suffered terrible persecution, along with other dissenters. They were crowded by hundreds into prisons, where too many lay till they died, and were every where loaded with fines, reproaches, and abuse. Since the Revolution, they have enjoyed their liberty. The English Baptists are distinguished into the Particular or Calvinists, and the General or Arminians. The Calvinist Baptists reside chiefly about London. They maintain, that infants ought not to be admitted to baptism, and that that ordinance ought always to be administered by dipping. Some, if not all of them, retain the opinion of Christ's personal reign on this earth: but they admit of magistrates, lawful war, and swearing of oaths. From their Confession, published in 1643, it appears, their principles were then much the same as at present. Their rules of church-government are much the same as the Waterlandian. Their community is under the direction of one of their most eminent teachers. Not a few of them have excelled in learning and piety, and in the zealous defence of the truths of the gospel, against the Socinians and Arminians. As early as 1660, the General Baptists gave out themselves for above twenty thousand in England. What their number may now be, I dare not guess. They are dispersed through England, and probably not a few of them in Ireland and America, and are much the same as the Dutch Galenists. They are disposed to admit to their communion every pretender

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pretender to Christianity, the Papists excepted, the belief of the scriptures to be the rule of faith, being the terms of their communion. Hence Whiston the Arian, and Emlyn a kind of Socinian, were received as members of their church. Nor does their celebrated Foster appear to have been of a better character. Meanwhile, some of them are so bigotted to their own sect, as if the only Christian one, that they carefully shun all religious connection with any other. As perhaps they do not believe the Trinity of persons in the Godhead, they dip but once in baptism, and reckon it indifferent whether one is baptized in the name of the Father and Holy Ghost, or only in the name of Christ. They reckon the law of abstinence from things strangled and blood, still binding upon them; and that departed souls continue in a kind of sleep till the resurrection. They use extreme unction, and some of them observe the Jewish Sabbath, as well as the Christian.

VI. The QUAKERS, so called from the shakings and convulsions of their bodies, wherewith their experience of the Spirit, and their discourses to the people were attended, are a kind of frantic, and perhaps sometimes diabolically possessed Deists, in whom the enthusiasm of the Anabaptists, and infidelity of the Deists, are united. Themselves choose to be called *Children of the light*. While anarchy and civil war permitted every fanatic to preach up his own reveries, George Fox, an enthusiastic shoemaker, of a dark and melancholy complexion, began, in 1647, to stroll through England, giving out himself for one divinely inspired, and exhorting the people to attend to the voice of the divine word, that lies in every man's heart. When, after the murder of king Charles I. licentiousness in religious opinions was every where indulged,

dulged, Fox exerted his fanatical powers with new vigour. Having procured a considerable number of disciples, he excited tumults in several places of the nation; and in 1650, disturbed the devotions of people assembled in the churches, crying out, that all such meetings for worship were useless. For these, and similar extravagancies, he, and his principal companions, were cast into prison, and chastised as disturbers of the peace.

The first association of Quakers were generally visionary fanatics, tumultuous in the highest degree. Even their females, regardless of modesty or decency, and sometimes stark naked, bore their part in the disorders. They ran about, like mad furies, through towns and villages, declaiming against every form of government, or fixed mode of religion; railed at all public or stated worship of God; insulted the clergy in the discharge of their office; trampled on the civil laws; excited mobs and tumults, under pretence of inspiration from Heaven. It was therefore found necessary to employ the secular arm against them, and to chastise numbers of them for their extravagance and folly. Apprehensive of their infuriated violence, Cromwell, though no enemy to sectaries, once resolved upon an entire suppression of them: but finding, that force was not proper for this purpose, he prudently forbore; and contented himself with the use of proper precautions to prevent their raising of seditions among the people. They contemned his promises and threatenings, and insulted him to his face. Some of them ran through the streets, denouncing the vengeance of Heaven upon him. One came with a drawn sword to the door of the parliament-house, and pretending the Holy Ghost had inspired him to kill every one of them, wounded several. James Naylor was the most extravagant of all; giving out himself to be the Son of God, and was stoned by the rest  
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*the eternal sun of righteousness, the prince of peace, the only begotten son of God, rose of Sharon, and chief among ten thousand.*

When the ardent impetuosity and frantic madness of this rising sect had gradually abated, Robert Barclay, George Keith, Samuel Fisher, William Penn, and George Whitehead, men of learning and abilities, applied themselves to reduce the tenets of their community to a kind of theological system; but one would be widely mistaken to imagine Barclay's *Apology* a candid representation. Instead thereof, he modifies and conceals to the utmost of his power, whatever he supposed to be absurd. Under king Charles II. they suffered most terrible abuse. Besides what they endured from the licentious mob, three or four thousand of them were prisoners, in the very first year of his reign. It was not their absurd blasphemy, or their railing at the worship of God, but their refusal to take the oaths to the government, pay tithes, or give magistrates their civil honours, that then exposed them to hardship. Fatigued with repeated vexations, they thought of leaving their country, and attempted to procure settlements abroad, where they might be at liberty to disseminate their opinions. Their attempts in Germany, Prussia, France, Italy, Greece, and Holstein, were almost wholly unsuccessful. After much importunity, they obtained a settlement in Holland, where they continue to this day. Multitudes retired to America, and William Penn, son to the famous vice-admiral, obtained the grant of an uncultivated province there for them to settle, and enjoy their liberty. Thither Penn, from whom the province was called Pennsylvania, transported a considerable colony of his brethren and sisters, and founded a republic, whose form, laws, and institutions, resemble no other; and whose pacific and commercial spirit, have long procured it tranquillity and wealth. Here the Quakers are

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predominant, both in numbers and authority. But all who acknowledge the existence and providence of one supreme God, either by external worship of him, or by regular lives, are admitted as citizens; and its principal city is called *Philadelphia*, to denote the fraternal love that reigns in the colony. As Penn was a favourite of James II. the Quakers, during his reign, enjoyed the sweets of liberty and freedom. King William procured a full and ample toleration for them, and other dissenters, of almost every denomination. Since which the Quakers have scarce been molested, except for refusing to pay the clerical tithes: and because they pretend a scruple of conscience at swearing of oaths, their solemn promise or declaration is, by law, accepted instead of their oath.

Whatever contests raged among the Quakers, during the life of their founder, generally related to customs, manners, and discipline; and were terminated in a short time. But after his death, in 1691, the *friends*, especially George Keith, one of the most learned, by the innovations he made in their doctrine, occasioned discords of a more serious and lasting nature in Pennsylvania: he was charged with maintaining, that Jesus Christ never existed but in the hearts of the faithful, and that the whole of his history in the gospels, is but a symbolical representation of the duties of Christianity. After plenty of furious debate, Keith, and his adherents, were excommunicated. He returned to England, and finding that he could not there agree with his *trembling brethren*, he joined himself to the Episcopal church. His partisans long held their assemblies, and promoted their religion in a separate state. But it is said, they were at last reconciled to their brethren.

As the Quakers adopt mysticism in all the consequences thereof, their fundamental tenet, whence all the rest are deducible, is, That every man has within

within him an enlightening spark of that wisdom which exists in the Deity, which, whosoever duly cherishes, by self-converse, contemplation, and perpetual efforts to subdue his sensual affections, that seek to overpower and suffocate it, will feel a glow of *divine warmth*, and hear a *divine voice* from within himself, guiding him into all truth, and perfectly assuring him of his union with the supreme Being. This inward spark they call the *divine light*, the *heavenly wisdom*, the *internal word*, and the *Christ within*. Now, since Jesus Christ resides in the inward frame of every man's heart, it necessarily follows, that all religion lies in calling off the mind from external objects, in weakening the ascendant power of the outward senses, and in entering into the deepest recesses of the heart, and attending to its divine dictates; that the scriptures are of no use, but as they stir up the mind to listen to this *voice* and *light* within,—are but a dead letter, and dumb teacher, which by signs and figures point to the living and effectual teacher within; that though Heathens, and others, want the subordinate, dead, and dumb teacher, of scripture, yet the *Christ within* teacheth them all that is necessary to be known and practised, in order to final happiness; that the kingdom of God comprehends the whole race of mankind; and all that resist the impulse of their lusts and passions, and lead virtuous lives, be they Jews, Heathens, Mahometans, or Christians, shall be united to God by the *Christ within*, and enjoy the fruits of this union for ever; that as our dark, heavy, and corrupt body, hinders the soul from easily discerning the *inward Christ*, we should carefully watch against the soul's being filled with images of vain and external objects, by means of the senses; and they hope, that after death has liberated the soul from the body, it will never more be imprisoned therein.

Their whole salvation proceeding from the *Christ within*, the doctrine of the Trinity, and every thing relative to the person, incarnation, office, life, death, resurrection, or second coming of our Saviour, or of the covenants of works or grace, and of original sin, regeneration, justification, perseverance in grace, resurrection of the dead, faith, external means of salvation, are either totally excluded from their theological system, or reckoned of very small importance. It is said, these in America more openly profess, that the history of our Saviour's life is but an allegorical representation of Christian virtue: and though these in Europe, to avoid the popular odium, allow the Son of Mary to have been a wonderful man, yet they do not altogether reject the allegorical sense of his history. Except what the laws of their country oblige them to, they pay no regard to any instituted worship, public, private, or secret, as that tends to cramp the mental worship of the *inward Christ*. They look on baptism and the eucharist as Jewish ceremonies, prefiguring inward purification and nourishment; and reckon, that the true worship of God lies in self-recollection, whereby one withdraws his mind from every outward object, silences every inward motion and affection, and plunges his soul into the bottomless abyss of the Deity.

Their moral system requires the careful avoidance of every thing which may be reckoned akin to bodily and sensual pleasure, and of outward conformity to the world, in what goes by the name of polite behaviour. They call every body, however dignified, by his own name, or *thou*; nor do they pay the tokens of reverence to magistrates, or others of high rank. They renounce all right to self-defence, and pretend to let pass, without resistance or resentment, attacks made upon their person or property; nor will they confirm their testimony with



with an oath. The gravity of their aspect, the rustic simplicity of their apparel, the affected tone of their voice, the stiffness of their conversation, and the frugality of their table, once sufficiently distinguished them; but they are now much more conformed to the world.

Finding that the influence of the *Christ within*, could not preserve their society from disorder and ruin, they were obliged to form a council of elders, who watch over the rest, discuss the debates that happen among them, and regulate their public speakers. Both sexes are allowed to exhort in their public assemblies, which, for conveniency, they hold on the Lord's day, and were wont to speak only what and when the spirit moved them: but their absurd harangues at some meetings, and their total silence at others, exposing them to the derision of spectators, this liberty and order are now modified. They have professed speakers, who discourse, when the spirit moves none of the brethren or sisters; and who, it is said, sometimes shew their discourses to the elders, before they pronounce them in public, and have a small salary for their labour. It is nevertheless certain, that their public discourses are reckoned no part of divine worship; for they assemble not to hear the speaker, but to listen to their inward instructor, and to commune with their own heart.

VII. The MORAVIANS are another enthusiastic sect. If we believe count Zinzendorf, their founder, he was scarce ten years of age, when he, perhaps excited by the fame of the leading Pietists in Germany, began to form a design of gathering a society of believers, with whom he might spend his days in the exercises of devotion. \* In 1721, he applied himself to the execution of his project; and settling at Berthelsdorf, in Upper Lusatia, where  
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he had purchased an estate, he was joined by some persons of his own turn of mind, and bestowed the vacant curacy of the place upon a student of the same cast. Christian David, a carpenter, persuaded a number of Moravians to forsake their Popish religion and country, and settle with the count. Zinzendorf gladly received them, and assigned them a spot in a wood, where they might build themselves houses. In hopes of a plentiful increase, David marked out the directions for the streets. Numbers from Moravia flocked to this new settlement, and built themselves houses. The count built a residence for himself among his sanctimonious brethren. In 1732, the inhabitants were increased to six hundred. An orphan-house, and other public buildings, were fitted up. The place was called *Herrnhuth*, which signifies *the guard or protection of the Lord*.

Till 1729, the count, and his followers, professed to be strict adherents to the Lutheran Confession; and if any marked an inclination towards Calvinism, the count was at pains to cure it. But finding, that most of his new colony were Moravians, he thought it for his honour, to pretend, they were the offspring of the pure Bohemians, who had kept themselves separated from both the Lutherans and the Reformed. He stiled them an incomparable people, the Theocracy, the hundred and forty four thousand servants of the Lamb, who had his mark in their foreheads. As the count was proprietor of the settlement, he became the head of their body. At first, he had the character of their *trustee*; next, in 1737, he got himself consecrated their *bishop*. This dignity he pretended to demit in 1740; but three years after, he was constituted their *oeconomist* and *plenipotentiary*, without whose consent, nothing of importance might be done. Soon after, he assumed the title of *their lord advocate*. The count laboured to his

utmost

utmost to propagate his sect, not merely by missions to the patriarch of Constantinople, and others of rank, but by sending forth missionaries, and travelling himself. Numbers of proper candidates were instructed in the languages of the countries intended to be visited, and sent off to preach, whether the count thought fit. About 1749, he informs us, that he had almost a thousand labourers dispersed throughout the world; that they had awakened twenty-four different nations from their spiritual drowsiness; preached the gospel in fourteen different languages; and had ninety-eight establishments, amongst which were castles with twenty, fifty, or even ninety apartments. As early as the year 1740, they had made about two hundred voyages by sea. The count himself has travelled through a great part of Europe, and has been twice in America.

They spread themselves on every side as far as Groenland on the north, and the Cape of Good Hope towards the south; and to China in the east, and America in the west. They principally succeeded in Wetteravia, Holland, and the British dominions. The discovery of the count's ambitious and covetous designs, sunk their credit in Wetteravia, and procured their expulsion from Denmark. Whatever miracles the count pretends Jesus was ready to work for the propagation and support of their cause, it is plain, such extensive undertakings required no small sums to defray the expence. In the first twenty-six years, the count says, there had been laid out above a million of crowns. No one is welcome to their society that does not contribute handsomely to the public chest; of which, it seems, Zinzendorf, and his countess, had the chief power of management.

In Christian countries, the count did not require his followers to make any separation from the established church, but merely that they should be living



ving-witnesses to the truth of Christianity. Though he boasts of drawing twenty thousand from the Reformed into the Lutheran church, yet when he perceived his followers harmony in opinion to decrease, as their numbers increased, he distinguished them into three troops or classes, the Calvinistical, to whom Watteville, his son-in-law, became bishop, about 1743, the Moravian, and the Lutheran, which he thinks the best. While he pretended, that no Christian needed make any change in his religion, in order to become a Herrnhutter, he insisted on the rights of his society to claim all the children of God where-ever they can be found.

To obey their spiritual superiors, is especially inculcated by the count, and his missionaries, upon the people under their care. The directions are expressly given out as the will of the Lamb, that they should do this or that. No time is allowed for deliberation; and it is pretended, that the Saviour doth not issue forth his orders till the moment of executing them be come; and that he is ready to work miracles in favours of these who pay due attention to his will. By such methods, the count secured to himself a most absolute supremacy over his sect. Very early, he took care to have a proper form of discipline established among them; which at once closely unites them one to another, divides them into classes, puts them under the power of their superiors, confines them to certain exercises of devotion, and the observance of several insignificant rules. Their *married* and *unmarried* are divided into two general classes; their *married men*, *married women*, *widowers*, *widows*, *bachelors*, *maids*, and *children*, are divided into particular classes; each of which has a director chosen from among themselves, who every day visits every member, enquires into the condition of their souls, administers proper instructions and exhortations, and reports to the elder. These directors often meet by themselves

themselves for consultation concerning the most proper methods of directing souls. Each class is subdivided into the *dead*, the *awakened*, the *ignorant*, the *willing disciples*, and *these that have made progress*; to each of which proper assistance is given: but particular care is taken of them that are spiritually dead. They principally attend to the instruction of youth, some taking care of the orphans, others of the rest of the children. The count has sometimes taken twenty of them into his own house, and made nine or ten of them sleep with him in his own chamber. They have assemblies of young ones scarce able to walk, in which they have hymns, prayers, and sermons, suited to the audience, by the first of which the children are particularly edified.

The elder, co-elder, and vice-elder, superintend all the classes. These have under them informers, some known to the society, and others not; and several other officers. Much of their worship consists in singing of hymns of their own composition. Some are appointed, by rotation, to pray day and night for the society, who, it seems, are called to their work in the proper moment, by an inward feeling. If the zeal of the society is perceived to be on the decline, it is revived by their love-feasts. They make great use of lots to discover the Saviour's mind, touching their duty. As the maids devote themselves directly to the Saviour, determined to marry none but such as are regenerated, are fully instructed in the importance of the marriage-state, and divinely directed to enter into it, the elders have the sole power of making marriages; nor is any promise valid without their consent. They consider marriage as the most precious depositum left by Christ to his church, and a most important mystery, to which he has given them the key. Such of their own society as live unmarried after twenty-one years of age, they reckon to live in a state of  
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brutality and madness, ignorant of themselves. Such as are married out of their society, they account to live in fornication and adultery. All souls they reckon of the female sex, the spouse of Christ the Bridegroom; and that whatever is male in human bodies, is only given in this life, to be a mark and seal of the office of the brethren in bringing the sisters to Christ. Modesty forbids me to relate the count's doctrine of the sanctification of the concealed parts of the human body, through the manhood, circumcision, and birth of the Saviour, and of the veneration which the brethren and sisters ought to have for these of the other sex, or of the ardour wherewith husbands as vice-gods, vice-Christ, and procurators of the Saviour, should, in his name, prosecute the sensual enjoyment of their yoke-fellows, as a distinguished part of practical religion.

As the Moravians labour to express themselves in an obscure and mystical manner, it is somewhat hard to know what are their real principles. But in his sermons, preached at their synods, or otherwise, for the instruction of his fellow-labourers, count Zinzendorf pretends, that the stile of the scripture is often pitifully mean, and Christ himself speaks in the slovenly manner of a journeyman of Nazareth. He ridicules such as require every thing to be proven by scripture, pretending, that the reading thereof is more dangerous than useful to the society. He pretends, that it is a capital error to ascribe creation to the Father, or sanctification to the Holy Ghost; that it is honour enough for the Father to be the Father of Christ, who is God the alone Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier; that the Holy Ghost is the eternal spouse of God, and mother of Christ; and that both of them *minister* to Christ in the whole of his work; that the apostles, for fear of idolatry, did not baptize in the name of the Father and Holy Ghost; that in our worship

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we ought to be taken off from the Father and Holy Ghost, and conducted to Christ, with whom alone we have to do; that the common doctrine of the Trinity, and the worshipping of any but Christ, is an invention of the devil, taught only by his professors, and merely fit to amuse unbelievers and Atheists; that it is equally wicked to worship the Father or Holy Ghost, as to worship an Heathen idol; that Christ, in his incarnation, went out of the Godhead, and made a parenthesis therein; that he conquered not as God, but as man. They speak of him with a number of fond expressions, as *dear little Lamb*, or *dear little Jesus*, and the like, and his *ten thousand times pretty little side*. They have a great veneration for his five red wounds, especially that of his side, wherein their faithful repose themselves lengthwise, or crosswise, as their hall, their bed, and their table, at which they eat and drink, and praise him. They pretend, that all reason is vain in religion; that the children of God do not instruct themselves out of books, but are to believe merely because they find pleasure therein; that Christ having done all that is necessary for our salvation, no other duty ought to be recommended to men but that of believing; that as regeneration comes of itself, none ought, by reading, prayer, meditation, or the like, to do any thing to promote it; that Christ being the believer's sanctification, it is as complete at first as their justification, and comes in the same manner; that as it is properly Christ that acts in them, they ought to do whatever he, who can alter laws, and make things vicious or virtuous, as he pleases, gives them an inclination. This is the sect whom Wesley, the Methodist chief, once so highly extolled, and, it is said, invited to the British dominions, and from whom he copied a part of his rules. Only while Zinzendorf took the Antinomian side, Wesley gradually appeared a furious Arminian.

VIII. The LABADISTS owed their original to John Labadie, a man of a weak head, but remarkable for masculine eloquence. Obtaining his discharge from the Jesuitical society, he commenced a Protestant pastor, and discharged his office with no small applause in France, Switzerland, and Holland. As his head was visionary, and his conduct imprudent and turbulent, he was not fit to stay long in a place. He pretended, that God could, and sometimes did deceive men; that the scripture is not a sufficient rule to guide men to everlasting happiness, without particular revelations from the Holy Ghost; that, in reading of scripture, we ought to attend more to the suggestions of the Spirit, than to the literal sense of the words; that in the church of Christ all things ought to be common, and all distinction of rank abolished; that Christ in person shall reign with the saints upon earth for a thousand years; that a contemplative life is the very height of perfection; that a Christian whose mind is calm, sees all things in God, and is unconcerned about what passes in this world; and that this calmness is attained by mortification of the flesh, and by mental prayer. Tinctured with these, and other mystical whims, he refused to subscribe the French Confession of faith, when called to be pastor of their church at Middleburg in Holland. Here he founded his new community; but, at the desire of Elisabeth princess Palatine the abbess, it was transported to Hervorden in Westphalia. Driven thence by the magistrate, Labadie, in 1672, retired to Altena near Hamburg, where he died about two years after. Both Brownists and Quakers in Holland courted him to their party, but he chose to have a sect of his own. After his death his flock removed to Wierwert in Friesland, where it continued unmolested till it dwindled to nothing. Yvon was their director and pastor. Several persons of learning and rank embarked with this sect. But its  
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brightest ornament was Ann Schurman, a devout lady of Utrecht, whose learning and sense rendered her the wonder of her sex. This party, in general, did not so much differ from the Reformed in their opinions, as in their rules of discipline, and manner of practice. If we believe themselves, they took care to have a communion of real saints; but others report, that even Labadie was not irreproachable. In their account of the dying behaviour and words of their principal members, there appears sparks of real piety, much covered with a gloomy enthusiasm.

IX. ANTOINETTE BOURIGNON, a Popish lady of Flanders, was the head of another mystical tribe. Her enthusiastic feelings were attended with a most exuberant fancy, and volable tongue. She pretended to be divinely inspired for the reviving of true Christianity, which had been quite lost amidst theological disputes. Her leading principle was, that the Christian religion consists neither in knowledge nor practice, but in inward feelings, which arise from an immediate communion with the Deity. She also maintained, that God did not permit sin, nor would inflict damnation on account of it; that Christ has a twofold manhood, one formed of Adam before the creation of Eve, and another taken from the virgin Mary; that God has not a foreknowledge of things; that there are no decrees of election or reprobation, as these would infer God to be cruel and partial; that there must be some infinite quality in man, whereby he may unite with God, and that his will is such; that there is a good and evil spirit in every man's soul before he be born; that Christ's human nature was corrupted with a principle of rebellion against God's will; that there is perfection of holiness in this life, as well as purification from sin in the next; that natural generation of mankind will be continued in heaven, &c.



Her mystical whims, published to the world in about a score of volumes, made a prodigious noise in Flanders, Holland, Germany, and elsewhere. After no small suffering on account of them, she died at Franeker in 1680. Her principal patrons were Christian Bartholomew, a Janfenist priest at Mechlin, and Peter Poiret, who employed a surprising genius, and uncommon sagacity, to dress out the reveries of fanaticism. In his *Divine Oeconomy*, he reduced the substance of Bourignon's fancies to a regular form. Dr Garden of Aberdeen attempted to introduce them into Scotland, wrote an apology in their favour, or at least laboured to spread it. But the General Assembly 1701, condemned and deposed him.

It is scarce worth while to mention JEAN LEADLY, an English lady, who, about the same time, pretending visions, and insisting, that if all who bear the name of Christians, regardless of all external doctrines and discipline, would jointly labour in committing their souls to the care of the internal guide, to be formed and governed by his impulse, the church would quickly become a glorious scene of charity, concord, and happiness, formed a body of disciples into what they called the *Philadelphian society*. She pretended to foretell such a state, and that all intellectual beings would be finally restored to perfection and happiness. She was unhappy for want of a patron to dress up her fancies into the appearance of reason. Of her two principal associates, Bromely had nothing to recommend him, but his mystical piety, and contemplative turn. Pordage surpassed Jacob Behmen himself, in obscurity and nonsense; and could only excite in his hearers a stupid awe, by the sonorous jingle of his words.

F I N I S.

# A L I S T

O F

The principal ERRORS, which have troubled the Christian church, especially since the Reformation; and an INDEX of part of the scriptures which refute the same.

•• The letters subjoined indicate the sects which maintain the tenet. *A* signifies Anabaptists, *An*. Antinomians, *Ar*. Arians, *L*. Lutherans, *P*. Papists, *Q*. Quakers, *R*. Remonstrant Arminians, *M*. Methodists, *S*. Socinians.

1. **T**HE light of nature doth not teach men, that there is a God, and that he ought to be worshipped. *S*.—Rom. ii. 14. 15. and i. 19. 20.

32. Acts xiv. 15. 16. 17. Psal. xix. 1. Job xii. 7.—24. and xxxviii. and xxxix. and xl. and xli.

2. The light of nature, common to all men, is sufficient to conduct them to true and lasting felicity. *S. R*.—John xvii. 3. Acts iv. 12. 1 Cor. iii. 11. Eph. ii. 12. Prov. xxix. 18. 1 John ii. 23. 2 John 9.

3. Human reason is of no use, for discerning or illustrating the mysteries of faith revealed to us. *P. L. A*.—1 Cor. x. 15. Matth. xxii. 23.—33. Gal. iii. and iv. Heb. i. to x. 1 John iv. 1. It cannot, in the matters of God, judge of the contradiction of one thing to another.—Matth. vii. 15. and xvi. 6. 1 Theff. v. 21. Heb. v. 14. Acts xvii. 11. 2 Tim. iii. 16. 17.

4. The testimony of human senses, is not to be trusted in any point of religion. *P*.—Luke xxiv. 39. Matth. xxviii. 6. 1 John i. 1. 2. 2 Pet. i. 17.

5. No consequences, but only the express words of scripture, are to be regarded, as proof of any point of religion. *P. S*.—2 Tim. iii. 16. Rom. xv. 4.

John v. 39. Matth. xxii. 23.—33. Gal. iii. and iv. Heb. i. to x.

6. No doctrinal points of mere revelation, are necessary to be known and believed, in order to salvation; but it is enough that men believe the promises, and obey the commands of God. *S. R.* Orthodoxy of opinion is no part of religion, or but a small part. *M.*—John xvii. 3. and xx. 31. Gal. i. 8. 2 John 9. Heb. xi. 6. and vi. 2. 1 Cor. ii. 2. and iii. 11.

7. The penmen of holy scripture wrote without a divine command or direction. *P. S.*—Deut. xxxi. 19. Is. viii. 1. Jer. xxxvi. 27. 28. Hab. ii. 2. 2 Pet. i. 21.

8. The scriptures of the Old and New Testament are not of divine authority. *Deists. N. B.* Let the marks of divine authority be traced in the matter and manner of the whole Bible.

9. The writers of scripture, in what they knew, were left to themselves, and only preserved from grosser mistakes. *S. R.*—2 Tim. iii. 16. Psal. xix. 8. 9. Matth. v. 18. John xvii. 17. 2 Pet. i. 21.

10. There are contradictions in scripture. *P. S. A.*—Psal. xix. 8. 9. and xii. 6.

11. The authority of the scripture, at least in respect of us, depends on the church. *P.*—Eph. ii. 20. Psal. xix. 7.—10. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 16. 17.

12. Some canonical books are lost. *P.*—Matth. v. 18. Luke xvi. 17. and xxiv. 27. Rom. xv. 4.

13. The books of the Old Testament are no rule of our faith under the gospel. *A. An.*—Luke xvi. 29. Eph. ii. 20. Rom. xv. 4. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 16. 17. John v. 39. Acts xvii. 11.

14. The Apocryphal books of Tobit, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, the two first books of the Maccabees, and the additions to Esther and Daniel, are part of the inspired word of God. *P.*—Psal. xii. 6. Rom. iii. 2. Luke xxiv. 44. and xvi. 29.

15. The



15. The Hebrew and Greek originals of the scripture have been corrupted. *Mahomet. P. 8.*  
*Q.*—1 Pet. i. 25. Psal. xii. 6. 7. and cxxxviii. 2.  
 Matth. v. 18. John v. 39.

16. The Hebrew and Greek originals are not preferable to all other versions, nor are the standard by which they are to be adjusted; but the translation of the Seventy, and especially the Latin Vulgate, is equal, if not preferable. *P.*—2 Tim. iii. 16. 2 Pet. i. 21. Psal. xii. 6. Prov. xxx. 5.

17. The scripture ought not to be translated into the vulgar languages, nor ought all to be allowed to read them. *P.*—John v. 39. Acts xvii. 11. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 16. 1 Cor. xiv. 2. 19. Col. iii. 16. Rev. i. 3. Psal. i. 12. Deut. vi. 6. 7. 8.

18. The scriptures are not a perfect and sufficient rule of faith and manners. *P. A. Q.*—2 Tim. iii. 15. 16. 17. John v. 39. and xx. 31. Rev. xxii. 18. Prov. xxx. 6.

19. The traditions of the fathers, and decrees of popes and councils, ought to be a part of our rule of faith and practice. *P.*—2 Tim. iii. 15. 16. 17. Rom. xv. 4. Gal. iii. 8. Is. xxix. 13. Matth. xv. 9. Is. viii. 20.

20. The spirit or light within men, is their principal rule of faith and practice, that renders the scriptures useful, and by which they ought to be tried: or at least is part of their rule. *Q.*—1 John iv. 1. Is. viii. 20.

21. Our certainty of the scriptures being the word of God, depends not upon their internal marks of divinity, or the inward persuasion of the Holy Ghost, but on the constant tradition of the church. *P. R.*—See N<sup>o</sup> 8. John vi. 63. Heb. iv. 11. 12. 13. 1 Theff. i. 5. and ii. 13.

22. The scripture is not of itself intelligible, with respect to the most necessary points. *P.*—Psal. xix. 9. and cxix. 99. 105. 2 Pet. i. 19.

23. Every scripture has a fourfold sense. *P.*  
 Psal.

—Pfal. xix. 7. and cxix. 105. 2 Pet. i. 19. Acts xvii. 11.

24. Human reason is the standard by which we must judge of the meaning of scripture: nor is any point of revelation to be received, unless we can clearly comprehend it by our reason, *S*; at least it is not necessary to be believed in order to salvation. *R.*—1 Cor. ii. 14. and i. 21.—24. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Eph. v. 32. Matth. xiii. 11.

25. One may savingly understand the scripture, without any special illumination of the Holy Ghost. *S. R.*—1 Cor. ii. 14. Psal. cxix. 18. Eph. i. 17. 18. and iii. 14.—19.

26. The unanimous explications of the fathers, and the decisions of popes and councils, are the standard for fixing the true meaning of the scriptures. *P.*—Jam. iii. 2. 2 Pet. i. 19. 21. If. viii. 20. John v. 39. Matth. v. 9.

27. The Romish church, the pope, or a general council, not the Spirit of God speaking in the scripture, is the supreme judge of all controversies. *P.*—If. viii. 20. Luke xvi. 29. Acts xxvi. 22. Matth. xxii. 29. 2 Pet. i. 19.

28. GOD's attributes are really different from his essence; and his nature is compounded of substance and properties. *S. R.*—Exod. iii. 14.

29. God is not infinite in respect of his essence. *A. S. R.*—Psal. cxlv. 3. Job xi. 7. If. xl. 12.—17.

30. God is not immense, and every where present, in respect of his essence, but only in respect of his power. *A. S. R.*—Psal. cxxxix. 7. 8. If. lxvi. 1. Jer. xxiii. 24. 1 Kings viii. 27.

31. God's duration implies succession. *S. R.*—If. lvii. 15. Psal. xc. 1. 2. and cii. 25. 26. 27. Jam. i. 17. 2 Pet. iii. 8.

32. God is changeable with respect to nature and will. *S. R.*—Mal. i. 6. Jam. i. 17. If. xlv. 10. Psal. cii. 25. 26. 27.

33. God

33. God hath not a certain knowledge of all things; particularly of future contingencies. *S.*—Matth. x. 29. 30. Heb. iv. 13. Psal. cxlvii. 5. Acts xv. 18. If. xlv. 7. and xlv. 10.

34. Beside his natural and free knowledge, God has a conditional and middle knowledge, whereby he guesſes from circumſtances, what creatures endued with rational liberty will do. *S. R. P.*—Heb. iv. 13. If. xlv. 10. 11. with xlv. 26. 27. 28. and xlv. 13. Acts xv. 18.

35. Besides his absolute and efficacious will, God has a conditional and inefficacious will. *P.*—If. xlv. 10. Psal. cxxxv. 6. Rom. ix. 19. Dan. iv. 35.

36. Revenging justice is not essential to God; but he can pardon sin without any satisfaction. *S. R.*—Gen. xviii. 25. 2 Theſſ. i. 6. Rom. iii. 24. 25. 26. Exod. xxxiv. 7. Hab. i. 13. Psal. v. 5. and xi. 5. 6. Heb. ii. 10.

37. God's almighty power can effect things contradictory *P.*—Psal. cxix. 68. Deut. xxxii. 4. Psal. cii. 25. 26. 27. Jam. i. 17. Tit. i. 2. 2 Tim. ii. 13.

38. The doctrine of the Trinity is not fundamental, or necessary to be known and believed by adult persons, in order to salvation. *S. R.*—John xvii. 3. and xiv. 1. and v. 23. 1 John ii. 23. 2 John 9.

39. There are not three distinct persons in the one divine essence. *Ar. A. S. Tritheists, Mahometans, &c.*—Deut. vi. 4. 1 Cor. viii. 6. Matth. iii. 16. and xxviii. 19. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. 1 John v. 7. John xiv. 16. and xv. 26.

40. The Jews, and other Old-Testament saints, knew nothing of the Trinity. *A. S. Jews.*—Gen. i. 1. 26. and iii. 22. and xi. 7. and xix. 24. Numb. vi. 24.—26. Psal. xxxiii. 6. If. lxi. 1. and lxiii. 9. 10. Hof. i. 7. Zech. x. 12.

41. The Son, who is our Mediator, is not the true and most high God, but a glorious creature; formed before the foundation of the world, and  
who



who assisted God in making it. *Ar.* He did not exist before his birth of the Virgin. *S. Mahomet.*—Psal. xlv. 7. *If.* vii. 14. and ix. 6. Jer. xxiii. 6. John i. 1. and viii. 58. Phil. ii. 6. Rom. ix. 5. Tit. ii. 13.

42. Christ was born a mere man, but by means of the divine favour, and his own good behaviour, he acquired the dignity of Godhead, and of being the object of worship. *S.*—*If.* vii. 14. and ix. 6. John i. 1. 14. Phil. ii. 6. 7. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Rom. i. 3. 4. 1 Pet. iii. 18.

43. Christ is not the Son of God by an eternal generation; but by his miraculous birth, his resurrection, his mediatory office, &c. *A. S. R.*—John i. 14. and iii. 16. Gal. iv. 4. Rom. viii. 3. 32. John x. 30. Luke i. 16. 17. 32. Rom. i. 3.

44. The Holy Ghost is not a divine person, but an influence, an angel, or some such thing. *Ar. S.*—John xv. 26. and xiv. 26. Acts v. 3. *If.* vi. 9. with Acts xxviii. 25. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. Matth. xxviii. 19. Matth. ix. 38. with Acts xx. 28.

45. God's decrees are not necessary, but merely accidental in him. *S. R.*—Psal. cxlvii. 5. Heb. iv. 13. Acts v. 18.

46. God's decrees are not eternal, but temporary and accidental. *S. R. M.*—Matth. xxv. 34. 2 Tim. i. 9. Acts xv. 18.

47. God's decrees are not absolute, but conditional. *S. P. R. M.*—Matth. xi. 25. Eph. i. 5. Rom. ix. 11. *If.* xlvi. 10.

48. God hath not in his decree fixed the period of every man's life, and the whole circumstances thereof. *S. R.*—Job xiv. 5. Psal. xxxix. 5. 6. Acts xvii. 26. *If.* xlv. 26. 27. 28. and xlv. 1. 13.

49. Christ as Mediator is the cause of election to eternal life. *L. R.*—Matth. xi. 25. Rom. ix. 11. 16. Eph. i. 4. with *If.* xlii. 1. 1 Pet. i. 20.

50. God's foresight of mens good works, is the spring

spring and cause of his electing them to eternal life. *P. S. R. L. M.*—Rom. ix. 11. 16. and xi. 5. 6. Eph. i. 4. 5. 6. 2 Tim. i. 9.

51. God hath not elected any particular person to eternal life, but merely fixed the conditions of it, and the terms of damnation. *P. S. R. L. M.*—Rom. ix. 11. 16. 2 Tim. ii. 19. Matth. xxiv. 24. Acts xiii. 48. Rom. viii. 28. 29. 30. and xi. 7. John x. 27. 28. 29.

52. No man's election being fixed till he hath persevered in holiness to the end of his life, none can be certain of it in this life. *P. S. R.*—Rom. viii. 28.—39. John x. 27. 28. 29. 2 Cor. xiii. 5. 1 Cor. ii. 12. 1 Theff. i. 4. 2 Pet. i. 10. Psal. lxxiii. 24. 25. 26. 2 Tim. iv. 7.

53. No particular persons are reprobated to eternal ruin by any act of God's wise and sovereign will. *S. R. L.*—God would be cruel as Satan, and as deceitful, if there were such a reprobation; better be a Deist, Turk, or Atheist, than believe this. *M.*—Rom. ix. 22. Jude 4. 1 Theff. v. 9. John x. 26. If. xlvi. 10. with 2 Theff. i. 8. 9. Psal. ix. 17.

54. God decreed to give Christ to the death for all men; to call all men to fellowship with him, and put them in a state of trial for everlasting happiness. *S. R. L. M.*—Rom. ix. 11.—22. 1 Theff. v. 9. 1 Pet. ii. 8. John x. 10. 11. with 26.

55. Creative power may be divinely granted to a creature; hence Christ might make the world and not be God. *S. R.* Priests may transform the bread and wine in the sacrament. *P.*—If. xlv. 7. 24. and xlv. 12. Jer. x. 11. 12. Psal. xcvi. 5.

56. The angels and invisible world existed, who knows how long, before the six days mentioned Gen. i. *Ar. S. R.*—Exod. xx. 8.—11.

57. In providence, God concurs only with an universal and undetermined influence. *P. S. R.*  
—Prov.

—Prov. xvi. 1. Acts xvii. 28. Col. i. 17. Phil. ii. 13. 1 Cor. xii. 6.

58. As God could not decree sin, so neither can he efficaciously permit it, without being the author of it. *P. L. S. R.*—Hab. i. 13. Rom. i. 24. to 28. 2 Theff. ii. 9. 10. 11. Psal. lxxxix. 12. 13. 1 Pet. ii. 8. Jude 4.

59. MAN was not at first created holy and righteous, but in pure naturals; at least he was not necessarily so. *S. R.*—Original righteousness was not natural to him, but was given him to assist and curb his natural inclinations. *P.*—Gen. i. 26. 27. Eccl. vii. 29.

60. In respect of nature and condition, Adam was mortal before the fall; and death is not the effect of sin. *S.*—Gen. ii. 17. Rom. vi. 23. and v. 12.

61. God did not make any true or real covenant, respecting eternal life and death, with Adam, as the representative of his natural seed. *S. R.*—Gen. ii. 17. Hof. vi. 7. Rom. v. 12.—19.

62. Man's fall was owing to his being created with a natural bent of inclination to vice, as well as to good. *P. S. R.*—Gen. i. 26. 27. Eccl. vii. 29.

63. Adam's first sin is not properly imputed to his natural posterity. *A. S. R.*—Rom. v. 12.—19. 1 Cor. xv. 22.

64. The souls of infants are corrupted with no original defilement of sin. *A. S. R.*—Gen. vi. 5. 6. and viii. 21. and v. 3. Job xiv. 4. Psal. li. 5. John iii. 5. 6. Eph. ii. 3. Rom. v. 12.

65. Original corruption is a mere want of that supernatural righteousness, which Adam had before his fall. *P.*—John iii. 6. Rom. viii. 7. 8. and vii. 14. 18. 23. 24. Gal. v. 17. Matth. xv. 19. Jer. xvii. 9.

66. Neither the first motions of our soul, nor  
any



any thing not voluntary can be sinful. *P.*—Rom. vii. 14.—25. Jer. xvii. 9.

67. The natural liberty of the human will lies in indifference, or an equal bent to good and evil. *P.* *S. R.*—Rom. viii. 7. 8. Ezek. xxxiii. 11.

68. Some sins are so small, that they deserve not the eternal wrath of God, but only some temporary correction in this life, or in purgatory. *S. P.*—Rom. vi. 23. Ezek. xviii. 4. Gal. iii. 10. Psal. v. 5.

69. Man still possesseth sufficient strength to incline him to what is spiritually good. *P. S. R.*—John viii. 34. Rom. vi. 12. 14. and viii. 7. 8. Eph. ii. 1. and v. 8. John xv. 4. Gen. vi. 5. 1 Cor. ii. 14. Matth. vii. 18.

70. The punishment of sin in hell is either total annihilation, *S.*; or the mere punishment of loss; some *P.*—Mark ix. 44. Rev. xix. 20. Matth. iii. 5. Rev. xiv. 10. 11. Matth. xxv. 46.

71. The covenant of grace was not made with Christ, nor is his righteousness the condition of it; but merely the ground upon which God enters into it, with guilty and polluted men, on condition of their faith, repentance, and sincere obedience. *P. R. M.*—Rom. v. 17. 18. 19. 2 Cor. v. 21. If. liii. 10. 11. 12. Psal. xl. 6. 7. 8.

72. The covenant of grace is made with, and proposed to all men, without exception. *R. L.*—Psal. cxlvii. 19. 20. Eph. ii. 12. Prov. xxix. 18.

73. The Old-Testament saints were not saved by the same covenant of grace as these under the gospel, nor by faith in Christ; nor had they the promises of pardon, of the holy Spirit, or of eternal life. *A. S. R.*—Luke i. 68.—73. Acts iii. 25. Gal. iii. 17. Gen. xvii. 7. Ezek. xxxvi. 25. 26. 27. Heb. ii. 14. and xiii. 8. Rom. xvi. 26.

74. The saints under the Old Testament continued under the curse of the law, and the guilt of sin, till our Saviour's death. *Cocceians.*—Exod.

xxxiv. 6. 7. Psal. xxxii. 1. and lxxxv. 3. and ciii. 3. 4. Mic. vii. 18.

75. The saints who died before the death of Christ, were not admitted into heaven, but were thrust down into Limbus, till he, in his descent to hell, brought them out. *P.*—Luke xx. 28. and xvi. 19. 20. and xxiii. 43. Heb. xi. 5. 2 Kings ii. 11.

76. The promised Messias is not yet come. *Jews.*—Gen. xlix. 10. Dan. ix. 24. 25. 26. Hag. ii. 6. 7. Mal. iii. 1. Is. ii. 18. 20. Zech. xiii. 2.

77. Jesus of Nazareth was not the true Messias, but an impostor. *Jews.*—Dan. ix. 24. Mal. iii. 1. 3. and iv. 2. Mic. v. 2. Is. vii. 14. and liii. with Luke i. to xxiv. Matth. i. to xxviii.

78. Christ had appeared upon earth in our nature, though man had never sinned. *S.* some *P.* and *L.*—Matth. i. 21. Dan. ix. 24. Is. lxi. 1. 2. Matth. ix. 13. Is. liii. 1 Tim. ii. 6. John iii. 16. 1 John iii. 8. Rom. viii. 3. 4.

79. Christ brought his human nature from heaven, and did not assume flesh of the substance of the Virgin. *A.*—Gen. iii. 15. Acts iii. 25. Luke i. 31. 32. Heb. ii. 14. 16.

80. Christ's human soul, from the moment of its creation, was so replenished with knowledge, that it could learn nothing. *P.*—Luke ii. 52. Mark xiii. 32. Heb. ii. 17.

81. Christ's manhood, though united to his divine person, was capable of sinning. *R.*—Heb. vii. 26. Luke i. 35. John iii. 34. 2 Cor. v. 21.

82. Christ's two natures are so united, as either to blend them into one, *A. Eutychians*; or to render him two persons.—Gal. iv. 4. Rom. i. 3. and ix. 5. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Phil. ii. 6. 7. John iii. 13. 1 Cor. ii. 8. Acts xx. 28. Is. ix. 6.

83. By virtue of the union between the two natures of Christ, omnipresence, omniscience, omnipotence,

potence, and adorableness, are communicated from the divine to the human. *L.*—John vi. 14. and xi.

15. Matth. xxviii. 5. 6. Acts iii. 21. Luke ii. 40. 52. Mark xiii. 32. Matth. xxvi. John xvii.

84. Before Christ entered upon his public ministry, he was caught up to heaven, that he might receive proper instruction to qualify him, Luke ii.

47. Col. ii. 3. 1s. xi. 2. Eph. iv. 9.

85. Christ was never a proper priest; nor began to be a priest at all, till after his ascension. *S.*—Psal. cx. 4. Heb. v. 6. 10. and i. 3. Eph. v. 2.

86. Christ suffered in his Godhead converted into humanity. *A.*—1 Pet. iii. 18. 2 Cor. xiii. 4.

87. Christ suffered only in his body, and the sensitive part of his soul; nor did he suffer spiritual punishments, and the wrath of God. *P.*—John xii. 27. Matth. xxvi. 38. and xxvii. 46. Luke xxii. 44. Gal. iii. 13.

88. Gospel-ministers are priests after the order of Melchisedec, as well as Christ. *P.*—Heb. vii. Rom. xii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 5. 9.

89. The Jewish sacrifices were not typical of Christ's sacrifice; but did expiate the guilt of at least lesser sins. *Jews.* *S.*—Heb. vii. viii. ix. and x. 1.—15. Col. ii. 17.

90. It was not necessary, that Christ should satisfy the justice of God for mens sin, in order to their salvation. *S.*—Exod. xxxiv. 7. Gen. ii. 17. Gal. iii. 10. 13. Rom. iii. 24. 26. Psal. xi. 5. 6.

91. Christ was not surety for man in any covenant; nor did he make any real satisfaction for sin; but died as a martyr and an example, and to procure his own exaltation, *S. R.* or to procure a new covenant,—1 Cor. vi. 20. 1 Pet. i. 19. Tit. ii. 14. Eph. i. 7. Matth. xx. 28. Rom. v. 6. 7. and viii. 32. 1 Pet. iii. 18. 1 Tim. ii. 6. 1 Pet. ii. 24. 1s. liii. Gal. iii. 13. 2 Cor. v. 21. Rom. iv. 25. John i. 29. Eph. v. 2. Heb. ii. 9. and vii. 22.

92. Christ's satisfaction was not absolutely perfect;



fect; but left room for the satisfactions of the saints in this life, and in purgatory. *P.*—Heb. x. 9.—14. and vii. and ix. Rom. v. 16.—19. Col. i. 20. 2 Cor. v. 21. Heb. ix. 14.

93. Christ's satisfaction includes not his active obedience, but merely his suffering, *P. R.*; if not that only which he endured while he hung on the cross. Some *Cocceians*.—Is. liii. 4. 5. 1 Pet. ii. 21. 24. and iii. 18. Phil. ii. 6. 7. Dan. ix. 24. Rom. v. 19. and viii. 3. 4.

94. Christ by his death satisfied the justice of God equally for all men; that is, so as to restore them into a salvable state. *P. L. R.*—Matth. i. 21. Eph. v. 23. John xv. 13. and x. 10. 11. 15. and xi. 52. Acts xx. 28. Is. liii.

95. Christ's soul after his death went not to heaven, but descended to hell. *P. L.*—Luke xxiii. 43. 46.

96. Christ did not rise from the dead. *Jews, Deists*.—Matth. xxviii. Mark xvi. Luke xxiv. John xx. Acts i. 1 Cor. xv.

97. Christ did not rise from the dead by his own power. *S.*—John ii. 19. Rom. i. 3. 4. 1 Pet. iii. 18. 1 Tim. iii. 16. John v. 21. and xi. 25. Col. i. 18. Rev. i. 18. 1 Cor. xv. 4. 45.

98. Christ did not really ascend to heaven; but his manhood being omnipresent, he only disappeared on earth. *L.*—Mark xvi. 19. Luke xxiv. 52. Acts i. 9. 10. John xvi. 28. Col. iii. 1. Eph. iv. 10. Acts iii. 21.

99. Christ's kingdom is not of a spiritual, but of a worldly nature. *Jews*.—Is. lxi. Jer. xxiii. 5. 6. Zech. ix. 9. John xviii. 36.

100. Christ's kingdom, whether mediatorial or divine, shall not endure for ever. *S.*—Luke i. 33. Dan. vii. 14. and ii. 44.

101. Christ as mediator, especially when glorified, is the object of divine worship. *P. L. S.*—Matth.

iv. 10. Psal. lxxxiii. 18. Gal. iv. 8. with If. xlix. 3. John xiv. 28.

102. God would dissemble with men, and insult over their misery, if he called any to salvation, whom, in his purposes, he hath irrevocably reprobated to damnation. *S. R. L.*—John ix. 39. with i. 11. and xv. 22. 2 Cor. iv. 3. If. lv. 11. Rev. xxii. 17. with Rom. ix. 11.—23. Acts xiv. 48.

103. God calls all men sufficiently to salvation by the works of creation and providence, especially if we take in tradition. *S. R.*—Acts iv. 12. Eph. ii. 12. Prov. xxix. 18. 2 John 9. Acts xiv. 16.

104. God bestows upon every man as much internal grace as is sufficient, if improved, to bring him to salvation. *P. S. R.*—John x. 26. and xii. 37.—40. Rom. ix. 22. 2 Cor. iv. 3. 4.

105. The saving grace of God is called effectual, only from its success or congruity to men's nature, temper, and circumstances; not from any almighty virtue in itself; and it works upon men only in the way of moral suasion, not in an almighty and invincible manner. *P. S. R.*—1 Cor. ii. 14. and iv. 7. and iii. 6. 7. Rom. viii. 7. 8. John vi. 44. Rom. v. 6. Eph. ii. 1. 3. 10. and i. 18. 19. 20. Ezek. xxxvi. 26. 27. and xi. 19. 20.

106. In the first moment of their conversion, or in regeneration, men are not passive, but co-operate with God's grace. *P. S. R. Synergist L.*—Eph. ii. 1. 3. and v. 8. Rom. v. 6. and viii. 7. 8. John iii. 5. 6. 1 Cor. ii. 14. 2 Cor. v. 17. Ezek. xxxvi. 26. 27.

107. The assent of saving faith doth not include or suppose a knowledge of what is believed. *P.*—John xvii. 3. If. liii. 11. Psal. ix. 10. Rom. x. 10. 17. John vi. 45. Hos. iv. 6. If. xxvii. 11.

108. Saving faith doth not imply any certain persuasion of the thing believed. *P.*—Rom. iv. 20.

24. 25. Heb. xi. 13. and iii. 6. 14. Matth. xiv. 31. and xxi. 21. John iv. 42. and vi. 69.

109. Saving faith doth not imply a particular appropriation of Christ as a Saviour, and of God reconciled in him to one's self. *P. S. R.*—John iii. 16. Gal. ii. 20. Rom. i. 16. 17. and viii. 16. 32. to 39. 1 John iii. 2. Psal. xviii. 1. 2. 3. and ciii.

110. Temporary faith differs from what is saving, not in kind, but in degree, *Baxter*; neither in kind nor in degree. *P. S. R.*—Tit. i. 1. Rom. viii. 28. John iii. 5. Eph. iii. 18. Luke viii. 13. 15. Jam. ii. 14.—25. Gal. v. 6. 1 Tim. i. 5. Acts xv. 9. Jam. ii. 14.—25.

111. Justification denotes a real infusion of righteousness into one's nature. *P.*—Exod. xxiii. 7. Prov. xvii. 15. Luke xviii. 14. with Rom. iii. 28. Acts xiii. 39. Rom. viii. 33. 2 Cor. v. 19. 21. Rom. iv. 5. If. liii. 11.

112. Remission of sin consists in the abolishment of it from the soul: nor is it complete at first; for though the fault be forgiven, the punishment is not. *P.*—Psal. xxxii. 1. and ciii. 3. Acts iii. 19. and xiii. 39. Mic. vii. 19. Rom. viii. 1. 33. 2 Cor. v. 21. Jer. l. 20. Song iv. 7.

113. Not faith alone, but also works, either in themselves, *P. S. R.* or as our gospel-righteousness, or as the means of qualifying us for receiving the righteousness of Christ, justify us before God. *Baxterians.*—Eph. ii. 8. Gal. ii. 16. Rom. iii. 24. 28. Phil. iii. 9.

114. Faith considered in itself, as an obedience to God's gospel-precept, and not as an instrument of receiving the righteousness of Christ, justifies men. *P. S. R. Baxter.*—Rom. i. 17. and iii. 22. Phil. iii. 9. with Jer. iii. 6. 1 Cor. i. 30. 2 Cor. v. 21. Rom. iv. 5.

115. Our justifying righteousness is not the obedience and suffering of Christ, and especially not his obedience imputed, but it is our own holiness  
and



and good works, *P.*; or our faith, as it includes obedience, *S. R. M.*—Tit. iii. 5. 6. 7. Jam. iii. 2. Rom. xx. 28. Phil. iii. 8. 9. 2 Cor. v. 21. Rom. v. 16.—19. and viii. 3. 4. 33. and iv. 5.

116. The doctrine of mens justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ, encourages to all manner of licentiousness. *P. S. R. M.*—2 Cor. v. 14.—21. Rom. v. 16.—21. with vi. Heb. ix. 14. with 1 Tim. i. 5. Luke i. 74. 75. Rom. vii. 4. and vi. 14. and viii. 1.—4.

117. Absolute perfection in holiness is attainable by men in this life. *P. S. R. A. M.*—1 John i. 8. Jam. iii. 2. 1 Kings viii. 46. Prov. xx. 9. Gal. v. 17. Rom. vii. 14.—25. Matth. vi. 12.

118. Good works are not necessary in respect of salvation, Christ having fulfilled all the demands of God's law in our stead. *Antinomians.*—Psal. cxvi. 16. 1 Cor. ix. 21. Luke i. 74. 75. Tit. ii. 10.—14. 2 Cor. v. 14.—21. Rom. vii. 4. and v. 16.—21. with chap. vi. Gal. v. 6. and vi. 7. 8. Jam. ii. 14. to 26. John xv. 4. 2 Tim. ii. 19.

119. The virtues and works of Heathens, correspondent to the law of God, were truly good and acceptable before him, whatever was their principle, motive, or end. *P. S.*—Eph. ii. 12. 1 Tim. i. 5. Tit. i. 15. Prov. xxi. 4. and xv. 8. Rom. xiv. 23. Heb. xi. 6.

120. What is performed with a good intent, though it be not required in God's law, is a good work. *P.*—Col. ii. 23. Deut. xii. 32. Numb. xv. 28. If. i. 12. and xxix. 13. Matth. xv. 9.

121. Wicked mens good works have a merit of congruity before God; and the good works of the saints a merit of condignity. *P.*—Matth. vii. 15.—23. and xii. 33. Prov. xv. 8. 9. and xxi. 4. Luke xvii. 10. 2 Cor. iii. 5. Rom. vi. 23. and xi. 5. 6. 7. Tit. iii. 5. 1 Cor. iv. 7. and xv. 10.

122. The saints cannot, nor ought they to seek for any certainty of their being in a state of grace  
in

in this life. *P. S. R.*—1 John ii. 3. 4. and iii. 2. 2 Tim. i. 12. 2 Sam. xxiii. 5. Job xix. 25. 26. 27. 1 Cor. ii. 12. Rom. viii. 16.—39. 1 Cor. xi. 28. 2 Cor. xiii. 5. 2 Pet. i. 10. Psal. xviii. and ciii. and xci.

123. The saints may totally and finally fall from their faith and state of grace. *P. S. R. M.*—Heb. vi. 17. Rom. ix. 11. Deut. xxxi. 8. Heb. xiii. 5. Jer. xxxii. 39. 40. 1 Pet. i. 5. John x. 26.—29. Rom. viii. 28.—39. and xi. 29.

124. The souls of men at death perhaps, *R.* or certainly enter on a state of sleep till the resurrection, *A. S.*; or many of them go to purgatory, where they are purged from sin by infernal torments. *P.*—Prov. xiv. 32. Luke xxiii. 43. Acts vii. 59. 2 Cor. v. 1. Phil. i. 23.

125. The dead shall not all rise again, *Deists.*; but only the Israelites, or the righteous. *Jews.*—Exod. iii. with Matth. xxii. 29.—32. Job xix. 25. 26. 27. Psal. xvi. 9. H. xxv. 8. Ezek. xxxvii. 1. 10. 14. John v. 28. 29. Matth. xxv. 32.—46. Rev. xx. 11. to 14.

126. Not the same bodies that were buried, but new formed spiritual bodies, shall be raised to the last judgment. *A. S.*—2 Cor. v. 10. Phil. iii. 20. 1 Cor. xv. 43. 44. and iii. 16. and vi. 15. Dan. xii. 2.

127. THE ten commandments are not of indispensable obligation. *S.* some *P.*—Matth. v. 17. 18.

128. The ten commandments are not binding under the New Testament. *Antinomians.*—Matth. v. 17. 18. 2 Pet. i. 19. Matth. xxii. 36. 37. 38. Rom. iii. 31. and xiii. 8. 9. Jam. ii. 11. 12.

129. The ceremonial law is still binding upon the church of God. *Jews.*—Jer. xxxi. 32. and iii. 16. 17. Dan. ix. 27. Heb. vii. 12. 13. Gal. iv. 1. 2. 3. and v. 1. Col. ii. 14. Acts xv.

130. The ten commandments received several amendments from the corrections, additions, and counsels of Christ. *A. S. R. P.*—Psal. xix. 8. Matth.

Matth. v. 17. and xxii. 37. 38. 39. Nor did Christ fulfil the law by obeying, but by correcting and enlarging it. *S.*—Gal. iv. 4. 5. Rom. viii. 3. 4. Gal. iii. 10. 13. Dan. ix. 24.

131. Christ, though originally a mere man, &c. and saints, and angels, and even the bodies and reliques of saints, the cross, and consecrated wafers, may lawfully be worshipped with religious adoration. *P.*—Matth. iv. 10. If. xlii. 8. Gal. iv. 8. 1 Theff. i. 9. Jer. xvii. 5.

132. The images of divine persons, of Christ as man, and of Mary, and other saints, ought to be religiously adored. *P.*—Exod. xx. 4. Deut. iv. 16. 1 John v. 21. 1 Theff. i. 9.

133. Images of divine persons, and of saints, may be retained in churches for means of instructing the ignorant people. *L.*—Exod. xx. 4. Deut. iv. 16. If. xl. 18. Acts xvii. 29. Jer. x. 8.

134. No oaths are lawful under the New Testament. *A. S. Q.*—Heb. vi. 16. Rom. ix. 1. 2 Cor. xi. 31. and i. 23.

135. Oaths and covenants made with heretics are not binding. *P.*—Josh. vi. 22. and ix. 15. 1 Cor. vii. 13. 14.

136. In oaths, it is lawful to use equivocations and mental reservation. *P.*—Heb. vi. 16. 2 Cor. iv. 2.

137. Christians ought to observe other holy days besides the weekly Sabbath. *P.*—Rom. xiv. 5. 6. Gal. iv. 10. Col. ii. 16.—23.

138. Children may, without their parents consent, marry, or shut up themselves in cloisters. *P.*—Matth. xv. 3.—6. Numb. xxx. 4. Eph. vi. 1.

139. No Christians ought to be civil rulers. *A. Q.* All war, and all capital punishments, especially of heretics, are unlawful. *A. S. Q.* Rom. xiii. 4. 1 Tim. ii. 1. Luke iii. 14. 1 Pet. ii. 14. Lev. xxiv. 16.

140. Officious lies, tending to no body's hurt, but to the advantage of some, are lawful. *S.*—Psal. v. 6. Prov. xvi. 17. 19. Eph. iv. 25. Col. iii. 9.

141. The



141. The moral law cannot oblige one to obedience, while, at the same time, the person is obliged to underly the punishment of sin. *R.*—Gal. iii. 10. with Rom. viii. 1. and iii. 19. and ii. 14. 15.

142. The gospel is a new law, of faith and sincere obedience. *S. M. Baxter.*—Luke ii. 10. 11. 2 Cor. v. 18.—21. Heb. viii. 9.—12. with Matth. v. 17. 18. Rom. iii. 19.—31.

143. The union between the sacramental signs and the things thereby signified, is physical and local. *L. P.*—1 Pet. iii. 21. 1 Cor. x. 16.

144. The sacraments are of no use ; *Q.* : they are not signs and seals of spiritual grace, but are mere badges of our Christian profession. *S. R.*—Rom. iv. 11. 1 Cor. x. 16. Matth. xxvi. 26. 27. 28.

145. The intention of the administrator is necessary to constitute the truth or reality of sacraments. *P.*—Phil. i. 16. 17. Rom. iii. 3. 1 Cor. x. 16.

146. The sacraments of the Old Testament were only shadows of grace ; but these of the New, not only seal it, but of themselves work grace ; and that whether they be received in faith or not. *P.*—Gen. xvii. 10. Rom. iv. 11. Acts ii. 38. and viii. 37. 38. and x. 34.—37. 1 Pet. iii. 21. 1 Cor. xi. 28.

147. Confirmation, ordination, marriage, penance, and extreme unction, are sacraments appointed by Christ : and baptism, confirmation, and ordination, imprint an indelible character upon the receivers. *P.*—No proof in scripture, which is a sufficient refutation.

148. Baptism is absolutely necessary to salvation. *P.*—Mark xvi. 16. Acts xvi. 31.

149. Baptism being absolutely necessary, what is administered by laics, or women, or in secret, is valid enough. *P.*—Matth. xxviii. 19. 1 Tim. ii. 12.

150. Baptism washes out the guilt and filth of all former sin, but doth not extend its virtue to what follows after ; *P.* : it regenerates all that receive

ceive it, and infants have actual faith given them. *L.*—Acts viii. 13. 22. Rom. vii. 14. Acts ii. 38. and xiii. 38. 39.

151. Infants having no faith, no evident sanctity, and not being members of the church, ought not to be baptized; *A.* There is no need of baptizing them, as there is no precept nor example for it in the New Testament. *S. R.*—Matth. xxviii. 19. Acts xvi. 15. 33. and xviii. 8. 1 Cor. i. 16. Gen. xvii. 7. with Acts ii. 38. and x. 47. Col. ii. 11. Matth. xix. 13. 1 Cor. vii. 14.

152. Baptism was only a temporary rite, for distinguishing the faithful from Heathens, and so need not be continued in the church; *S.* At least there is no great reason for its continuance. *R.*—Matth. xxviii. 19. Rom. vi. 4. Gal. iii. 27.

153. It is no great matter in what form baptism be administered. *S. R.*—Matth. xxviii. 19. and iii.

154. Baptism ought not to be administered in a simple manner, by dipping or sprinkling with water in the name of the Trinity, but ought to be introduced with the sign of the cross made on the forehead and breast; the exorcism and exsufflation; touching of the ears and nostrils with spittle; anointing of the breast and scapula with oil: and followed with an unction of chrism on the crown of the head; the lighting of wax-candles, and putting on of white garments. *P.* and part of *L.*—Matth. xxviii. 19. Acts viii. ix. x. and xvi.

155. There is no need of baken bread in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, but wafers are more proper. *P. L.*—Matth. xxvi. 26. 1 Cor. x. 16. and xi. 23.---29.

156. The sacramental cup ought only to be given to the clergy. *P.*—Mark xiv. 23. 1 Cor. xi. 26.

157. The bread and wine in the sacrament, by virtue of the priest's muttering over them Christ's words, *This is my body*, &c. are really turned into the substance of his body and blood; and these words,

words, *This is my body*, &c. are to be understood, not in a figurative, but in a literal manner. *P.*—1 Cor. xi. 23. 27. 28, and x. 16. Mark xxvi. 26. with Gen. xli. 26. Ezek. xxxvii. 11. Dan. vii. 17. and viii. 20. 21. 1 Cor. x. 3. 4.

158. Christ is corporally present in the eucharist, and is orally eaten and drunk by the receivers. *P. L.*—Luke xxii. 19. Matth. xxvi. 11. Acts iii. 21. John vi. 26.—64.

159. In the mass, or service of the eucharist, the priest offers up Christ as an external, real, and propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the quick and the dead. *P.*—1 Cor. xi. 23.—27. Heb. vii. 27. and ix. 14. 22.—28. and x. 1.—14.

160. Men ought to adore and kneel to the sacramental elements of the eucharist in receiving them, and also to the host, or consecrated wafer, when it is carried in procession through the streets. *P.*—1 Cor. xi. 23.—29. Matth. iv. 10. Deut. vi. 13. Gal. iv. 8.

161. Prayer ought not only to be made to saints departed, but also for them. *P.*—Phil. iv. 6. If. viii. 19. 2 Sam. xii. 16.—23.

162. Public prayers ought to be made in the Latin tongue, though neither people nor priest should understand it. *P.*—1 Cor. xiv. 1.—25.

163. None but such as give evidence of their faith by an almost perfect life; *A.* or who give sufficient evidence of their real grace, are visible members of the Christian church. *Independents.*—Matth. iii. Luke iii. Acts ii. 39. 1 Cor. vii. 14. Mark x. 14.

164. Reprobates and infidels may be true and real members of the church. *P.*—Eph. v. 23. Rom. viii. 9. Heb. iii. 1. Eph. ii. 20. Matth. vii. 23. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John ii. 19.

165. All men free of gross scandal, and who are not persecutors, and who believe the Bible to be the word of God, put what meaning on it they please, and hold what principles they will, ought



to be admitted into church-fellowship. *S. R.*—Prov. xxiii. 23. Judé 3. Gal. i. 8. 2 John 9.—11.

166. None ought to separate from a church, as long as they can be saved in it, and Christ holds fellowship with any in it. *P.*—Rom. xvi. 17. 18. 2 Theff. iii. 6. Rev. xviii. 4.

167. It is possible the church may entirely cease to exist on earth. *S.*—Eph. i. 21. Is. lix. 21. and lxi. 8. Matth. xvi. 18.

168. The true Christian church alway exists in splendor and eminence. *P.*—Gen. vi. 2 Chron. xv. 3. Rev. xii. 6. and xi. 7.—10.

169. Not conformity to the word of God in preaching, and in administering the sacraments, but the perfect holiness of her members, *A.*; or the character of Catholic, and her antiquity, perpetual splendor, multitude of members, and union under one chief bishop, constant succession of bishops from the apostolic age, working of miracles, and the like, are the distinguishing marks of the true Christian church. *P.*—John x. 27. Acts ii. 42. Eph. ii. 19. 20. and iv. 11. 12. 13.

170. There are no distinguishing marks of the true church; and therefore all that have any shadow of the Christian religion, ought harmoniously to join together in church-fellowship. *S. R.*—2 Tim. iii. 1.—5. 2 Theff. iii. 6. See N<sup>o</sup> 165. &c.

171. The church, either in her papal head, or as represented by a general council, is infallible in matters of faith. *P.*—Psal. xix. 12. 1 Cor. xiii. 9. Rom. xi. 22. Matth. vii. 15. and xv. 1. 2. 2 Tim. iii. 1.—5. 1 Tim. iv. 1. 2. 3.

172. The unity of the Christian church doth not consist in her having one Lord, one faith, and one baptism, and one hope of her calling; but in having one bishop under Christ to be her monarchical head. *P.*—Luke xxii. 25. 26. 1 Pet. v.

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170. There are no distinguishing marks of the true church; and therefore all that have any shadow of the Christian religion, ought harmoniously to join together in church-fellowship. *S. R.*—2 Tim. iii. 1.—5. 2 Theff. iii. 6. See N<sup>o</sup> 165. &c.

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2. 3. Matth. xxiii. 8. 9. and xxviii. 20. 2 Cor. i. 24. Eph. v. 23.

173. Christ left the apostle Peter his vicar over the whole Christian church; and the pope of Rome is his successor. *P.*—John xx. 21. 22. Matth. xxviii. 19. and xix. 28. Acts xv. 2 Cor. xi. 5. and xii. 11. Gal. ii. 6.—11. 1 Cor. i. 12. and iii. 4. 3 John 9.

174. Bishops superior to preaching presbyters, were appointed by Christ in the church; at least are necessary in it. *P. Episcopalian.*—1 Pet. v. 3. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11. Acts xx. 17. 28. Phil. i. 1. Tit. i. 5. 7.

175. There is no need of any external mission to the ministerial office; but every gifted Christian may preach or exhort; and if need be, dispense the sacraments. *A. S. R. Q.*—Matth. xxviii. 19. 20. Eph. iv. 11. Rom. x. 14. 15. 1 Cor. iv. 1. Jer. xxiii. 32. Heb. v. 4. Acts xiv. 23. 1 Tim. iv. 14.

176. Bishops and patrons, not the Christian people, have the right of electing the pastors of the church. *P.*—Acts i. 23. and vi. and xiv. 23. 1 John iv. 1. 1 Cor. iv. 22. 2 Cor. iv. 5.

177. It is most wicked for priests to have wives. *P.*—Heb. xiii. 4. 1 Cor. vii. 2. 1 Tim. iii. 2. and iv. 1. 2. 3. 2 Cor. ix. 5.

178. Ministers ought not to get or accept of any stipend. *A. Q.*—1 Cor. ix. Matth. x. 10. Luke viii. 3. Gal. vi. 6. 7. Mal. iii. 8.—12. Neh. xiii. 10. 11. 2 Cor. viii. 13. 14.

179. It belongs to the Roman pontiff alone to call general councils for church-government. *P.*—2 Chron. xxix. 2 Kings xxiii. Acts xv.

180. Church-rulers have power to make laws, which, in themselves, oblige the conscience. *P.*—Jam. iv. 12. Luke xii. 5. Matth. xv. 9. and xxviii. 19. 20. Gal. v. 1. Matth. xvi. 19.

181. No creeds or confessions ought to be imposed

posed in churches, as that checks the discovery of truth. *A. S. R. Q.*—2 Tim. i. 13. 1 Cor. i. 10.

182. Magistrates ought no way to interfere with the affairs of the church; *Independents*: or not to interfere, except in executing the clerical decrees. *P.*—Is. xlix. 23. 2 Chron. xxix. to xxxii. and xxxiv.

183. Clergymen are not subject to the civil magistrate or laws. *P.*—Rom. xiii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13. Tit. iii. 1. Matth. xvii. 25. Acts xxv. 10.

184. All church-power depends on the civil magistracy. *Eraſtians. R.*—John xviii. 36. 2 Cor. x. 8. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Eph. iv. 11. 12. 1 Cor. xiv. 33.

185. Church-rulers have no power to censure or excommunicate the scandalous. *Eraſtians.*—1 Cor. v. 1 Tim. i. 20. Rev. ii.

•• It might not be amiss for readers to write out the texts quoted, and others similar, for their establishment in the truth, in opposition to the above-mentioned and other errors.

# CATALOGUE

O F

EMPERORS, KINGS, POPES, LEARNED  
MEN, COUNCILS, &c. in the respective  
Periods of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

\* The marking of the names of Sovereigns, Popes, or Patriarchs, in *Italic*, denotes their being Authors. The letters *R. E.* signify Roman Emperors, *Gr. E.* Greek Emperors, *G. E.* German Emperors, *P. K.* Persian Kings, *F. K.* French Kings, *S. C.* Saracen Califfs, *R. P.* Roman Popes, *R. B.* Roman Bishops, *C. P.* Patriarchs of Constantinople, *G. F.* Christian Fathers, *E. W.* Ecclesiastical Writers, *L. H.* Learned Heathens, *P. A.* Profane Authors.

## C E N T U R Y I.

**R**oman Emperors; Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva. *Roman Bishops* after A.D. 60.; Linus, Cletus, *Clemens*, Evaristus. *Christian Doctors*; The twelve apostles, Paul, Barnabas, Mark, Luke, Timothy, Titus, Epaphras, Epaphroditus, Apollos, &c. *Learned Jews*; Josephus and Philo. *Learned Heathens*; Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Strabo and Dionysius geographers, Phædrus, Thrasyllus, Verrius Flaccus, Pliny senior, Fabius Rusticus, Servilius, Cornutus, Bassus, Lucan, Pamphyla a Greek lady, Seneca, Appion, Quintilian, Valerius Flaccus, Martial, Statius, Juvenal, Silius.

## C E N T U R Y II.

*R. E.* Trajan, Adrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Antoninus, Lucius Verus, Commodus, Pertinax, Julianus, Niger, Severus. *R. B.* Xystus or Sixtus, Telesphorus, Hygin, Pius, Anicet, Soter, Eleutherius, Victor.



Victor. *Christian Fathers, or Doctors*; Ignatius, Papias, Aristides, Quadratus, Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Theophilus of Antioch, Apollinaris, Athenagoras, Dionysius of Corinth, Melito, Miltiades, Hegesippus, Pantænus, Serapion, Apollonius, Polycrates, Victor, Theophilus of Cæsarea, Clemens Alexandrianus. *L. H.* Dion Chrysostom, Frontinus, Tacitus, Pliny junior, Titinius Capito, Pollio, Phlegon, Favorinus, Epictetus, Arrian, Plutarch, Polemon, Dionysius Halicarnassæus, Philo Biblius, Jason, Suetonius, Florus, Justin, Julius Paulus, Appian, Callinicus, Calvisius, Apollonius the Stoic, Ptolemy the geographer, Apollinaris, Fronto, Crescentius, Celsus, Lucian, Demonax, Alexander the magician, Maximus Tyrius, Sextus Empyricus, Numenes, Hermagenes, Aristides, Apuleius, Polyænus, Pausanias, Jamblichus, Aulus Gellius, Galen the physician, Proculus, Laertius, Solinus, Philostratus. *Councils*, of Rome, Ephesus, Cæsarea, and Lyons, relative to the day of observing Easter; of Hierapolis, against the Montanists.

## C E N T U R Y III.

*R. E.* Caracalla, Geta, Macrinus, Heliogabalus, Alexander Severus, Maximin, Gordian, Pupienus, Balbin, Gordian II. Philip, Decius, Volusian, Emilian, Valerian, Gallien, Claudius II. Quintillus, Aurelian, Tacitus, Florian, Probus, Carus, Carinus, Numerian, Dioclesian, and Maximian. *Kings of Persia* after 232; Artaxerxes, Sapor I. Ormisdates, Varanes I. II. III. Narses. *R. B.* Zephyrin, Callistus, Urban, Pontian, Anterus, Fabian, Cornelius, Lucius, Stephen, Sixtus II. Dionysius, Felix, Eutychian, Marcellin. *C. F.* Tertullian, Cæcilius, Hippolytus, Julius Africanus, Ammonius, Minutius Felix, Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, Novatian, Cyprian, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Theognostus, Victorin, Archelaus, Methodius, Malchion. *L. H.* Papinian, Censorin, Dion Cassius, Capitolin, H h 3 Oppian,

Oppian, Ulpian, Nicagoras, Quadratus, Luperus, Longinus, Amelius, Plotinus, Callicrates, Dexippus, Spartian, Lampridius, Vulcatius, Pollio, Vo-piscus, Porphyry, Iamblichus. *Councils*, of Alexandria against Origen; three of Antioch against Novatian, and Paul of Samosata; eight of Carthage relative to baptism of infants, rebaptizing of heretics, and receiving of the lapsed; two of Rome, one of Iconium, and another of Synnada, relative to rebaptizing of heretics.

## C E N T U R Y IV.

R. E. Galerius, Constantine the Great, Constantius, and his brothers, Julian, Jovian, Valentinian, Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II. Theodosius the Great. P. K. Misdates, Sapor II. Artaxerxes, Sapor III. Varanes IV. *Bishops of Rome*; Marcellus, Eusebius, Melchiades, Sylvester, Mark, Julius, Liberius and Felix, Damasus, Syricius. *Patriarchs of Constantinople*, after 330.; Alexander, Paul, Eusebius of Nicodemia, Macedonius the founder of the Pneumatomachians, Endoxius, Demophilus, Evagrius, Gregory Nazianzen, Nectarius, Chrysostom. C. F. Arnobius, Dorotheus, Lactantius, Eusebius of Cesarea, Eustathius of Antioch, Julius Maternus, Basil of Ancyra, Eusebius of Emesa, Antony the monk, Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Victorin, Phebadius, Hilary the Deacon, Hilary of Poitiers, Lucifer of Cagliari, Diodore of Tarsus, Eusebius of Vercell, Ephrem Syrus, Optatus, Philastrius, Ulphilas, Heliodorus, Nectarius, Basil the Great of Cappadoeia, Ambrose of Alexandria, Nemeseus, Pacian, Evagrius of Antioch, Gaudentius, Gregory Nassen, Idacius, Sophronius, Paulin, Ambrose of Milan, Vigilus, Epiphanius. L. H. Praxagoras, Eumenes, Paterius, Iamblichus, Gregory and Hermogenian, famed lawyers, Sopater, Gennadius, Victorin, Minervius, Alcimus, Delphidius, Donatus, who it is said made the

the notes on Virgil, Pompeius Festus, Aurelius Victor, Libanius, Himeras, Maximus, Priscus, Chrysanthus, Ammian Marcellin, Eutropius, Symmachus, Ausonius, Festus Avienus, Theodorus, Eunapius, Pappus the famed mathematician. *Councils*, of Nice, seven of Alexandria, nine of Antioch, seven of Constantinople, eight of Rome, three of Milan, five of Sirmium, two of Arles; with these of Beziers, Cyprus, Jerusalem, Lampfacum, and Tyre; most of them in the west, against, and in the east, in favours of the Arians; nine at Carthage, and others in Africa, chiefly against the Donatists; one at Laodicea, where the canon of scripture was fixed; and not a few others.

## C E N T U R Y V.

R. E. Honorius, Valentinian, Maximus, Avitus, Majoran, Severus, Anthemius, Olybrius, Glycerius, Nepos, Augustulus, whose empire was overturned in 476. *Constantinopolitan or Greek Emperors*, Arcadius, Theodosius II. Marcian, Leo I. and H. Zeno, Anastasius. P. K. Isidigerd, Varanes V. and VI. Peroses, Cavades, Zambades. R. B. Innocent, Zozimus, Boniface, Eulalius, Celestine, Sixtus III. Leo the Great, Hilary, Simplicius, Felix III. *Gelasius*. C. P. Atticus, Sisinnius, Nestorius, Maximian, Proclus, Flavian, Anatolius, Gennadius, Acacius, Flavita, Euphemius, Macedonius. C. F. Sulpicius Severus, Jerome, Rufin, Synesius, Prudentius, Nonnus, Augustine, Orosius, Polychronius, Asterius, Chromatius, Cassian, Lupus of Troys, Hesychius, Nicetas, Isidore of Damietta, Theodore of Mopsuestia, John of Jerusalem, Philostorgius, Atticus, Possidius, Hilary of Arles, Mercator, Vincent of Lerins, Sedulius, Nilus, Heliodore of Antioch, Socrates, Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysologus, Theodatus, Sozomen, Salvian, Theodoret, Salonius, Basil of Seleucia, Eucherius, Mamertus, Maximus.



mus of Turin, Elurus, Apollinaris Sidonius, Arnobius junior, Remigius, Gelasius Cyzicus, Mogg, Fullo, Talaia, Vitus, Vigilius Tapsensis, Eneas Gazeus, Avitus, Gennadius and Honoratus of Marseilles. *L. H.* Olympiodorus, Macrobius, Servius the commentator of Virgil, Quintus Curtius, Chalcidius, Zozimus, Proclus, Priscus, Simplicius. *Councils*; four of Ephesus, against Nestorius and others; two of Chalcedon, the last of which was against Eutyches; eleven of Constantinople against the Messalians, and against or for Eutyches; five at Antioch relative to the Pelagians and Nestorians; eleven of Rome against the Nestorians, Eutychians, &c.; nineteen of Carthage, and two at Milevum in Africa, against the Donatists and Pelagians, and against the Africans appealing to the bishops of Rome. These of Tours, Vaison, and Vennes, laboured to establish church-discipline.

## C E N T U R Y VI.

*Gr. E.* Justin, Justinian, Justin II. Tiberius II. Mauritius. *P. K.* Cavades restored, Chosroes II. Hormisdas, Chosroes. *Gothic Kings of Italy*; Theodoric, Athalaric, Amalasuntha, Theodatus, Vitiages, Ildebald, Totila, Tejas, whose kingdom was seized by Justinian in 554. *R. B.* Symmachus, *Hormisdas*, John, Felix, Boniface II. John II. Agapetus, Sylverius, Vigilius, Pelagius, John III. Benedict, Pelagius II. *Gregory the Great.* *C. P.* Timothy, John II. Epiphanius, Anthimius, Mennas, Eutychius, and John III. *John the Faster*, Cyriacus. *C. F.* Paschasius the deacon, Ennodius, Epiphanius Scholasticus, Theodorus Lecter, Basil of Seleucia, Boetius, Gildas, Benedict of Cassinum, Ephrem patriarch of Antioch, Maxentius, Procopius Gazeus, Ferrand, Fulgentius, Dionysius Minor, Aretas of Cesarea, Arator, Jobius, Procopius of Cesarea, Facundus, Junilius, Cyril of Scythopolis, Primasius,

Primasius, Germanius, Liberatus, Anastasius Sinaita, Cassiodorus, Fortunatus, Climacus, Gregory of Tours, Gildas, Cosmas, Leander of Seville, Leontius, Eutropius, Augustine the missionary, Evagrius, Maximus. Here end the Fathers according to some. *Profane Authors*; Trebonian, Menander, Jornand, and Stephen of Byzance. *Councils*; many small ones in Spain and France; with some in Rome, Constantinople, Milan, and Carthage, mostly for the establishment of church-discipline. The second general council of Constantinople held in 553.

## C E N T U R Y VII.

*Gr. E.* Phocas, Heraclius, Constantine III. Heraclianus, Constans II. Constantine IV. Leontius, Tiberius III. The Persian kingdom was conquered by the Saracens about A.D. 635. Their Califfs, who governed both civil and religious affairs, were Mahomet, Abubekr, Omar, Othman, Ali, Hafs, Moawiyah, Yezid, Monwiyah II. Abdallah, Abdalmelik. *Roman Popes*; Sabinian, Boniface III. and IV. Deodatus, Boniface V. Honorius, Severin, John IV. Theodorus, Martin, Eugenius, Vitalian, Adeodatus, Domnus, Agatho, Leo II. Benedict II. John V. Conon, Sergius. *G. P.* Thomas, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul II. Peter, Thomas II. John V. Constantine, Theodore, George, Paul III. Callinicus. *Ecclesiastical Writers*; Hesychius, Malela, Philoponus, Theophylact, Columban, Maximus, Brailion, Isidore of Seville, Sophronius, Fructuosus, Ildefons and Julian of Toledo, Theodore of Canterbury, Marculfus, Eloi, Adhelm. *Councils*; besides the two more general ones at Constantinople, there was one that confirmed the doctrine of the Monothelites. The seven at Rome condemned the Monothelites, and made regulations for the monks. The six of Toledo, and others in Spain, enacted laws for obliging the

the Jews to become Christians, and for regulation of discipline, ordinations, consecrations, &c.

## C E N T U R Y VIII.

*Gr. E.* Philippicus, Anastasius II. Theodosius III, Leo Naurus, Constantine Copronymus, Leo IV. Constantine VI. Irene. *S. C.* Al Walid, Soliman, Omar, Yezid II. Hesham, Walid, Yezid III. Ibrahim, Merwan, Abbas, Al Manfur, Al Molid, Musa, Harun. Another Califate is founded in Spain by Abdalrahman in 756. *French Kings*; Pepin seized his master's throne in 750. Charles the Great his son seized on the kingdom of the Lombards in Italy in 774, after it had stood about 206 years; and about 800, became emperor of Germany. *R. P.* John VI. and VII. Sifinnius, Constantine, Gregory II. and III. Zachary, Stephen II. and III. Paul and Theophylact, Stephen IV. whose rivals were Constantine and Philip; Adrian, Leo III. *C. P.* Cyrus, John VI. Germanius, Anastasius, Constantine II. Nicetas, Paul IV. *Tarasius. E. W.* Damascenus, Cosmas of Jerusalem, Gottescalc the deacon, Bede, Florus, Authbert, Elias of Crete, Alcuin, George Syncellus, Paulinus, Theophanes, Theodulfus. *Councils*; the most noted were these of Nice and Rome, establishing the worship of images, and these of Constantinople and Frankfort against it; others in France, and in some other places, examined the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son.

## C E N T U R Y IX.

*Gr. E.* Nicephorus, Saturatius, Michael Curopalates, Leo Armenus, Michael Balbus, Theophilus, Michael III. Basilus, Macedo, *Leo the Philosopher.* *S. C.* Rashid, Al Amin, *Al Mamun*, Motasem, Wathek, Motawakkel, Mostanser, Mostain, Motazz, Mohtadi, Motamed, Motaded. *German Emperors* and



and *Kings of France*; Charles the Great, Lewis the Meek, Lotharius, Lewis II. Charles the Bald, Lewis III. Carloman, Charles III.; but before the end of the century, these two sovereignties were divided; Arnulph was emperor, and Eudes king of France. *R. P.* Leo III. Stephen V. Pascal, Eugenius II. and Zinzinnus, Valentine, Gregory IV. Sergius II. Leo IV. perhaps Joan, Benedict, and Anastasius, Nicolas, Adrian II. John VIII. Martin II. Adrian III. Formosus and Sergius, Boniface VI. Stephen VII. and four rivals. *C. P.* *Nicephorus*, *Theodore*, John VII. *Methodius*, *Ignatius*, *Photius*, Stephen, Antony, Nicolas. *E. W.* Benedict of Anian, Leidrad, Ludger, Sedulius, Graptus, Amauri of Triers, Fortunatus, Eginhard, Claude of Turin, Gildas, Amauri of Metz, Freculph, Ansegise, Anscharius, Florus, Isidore Mercator, Lupus, Agobard, Druthmar, Jonas of Orleans, Gottescalc, Amauri of Lyons, Hilduin, Hincmar of Rheims, Ratram, Prudentius, Walafriid Strabo, Haymo, Paschasius, Rabanus, Eneas of Paris, Rhemigius of Lyons, Hincmar of Laon, Theodore, Abucara, Anastasius the pope's librarian, Michael Syncellus, Usuard, Elfrid, Abbo, George Chartophylact, John Scot, Nicetas, Rhemi of Auxerre, Amulon, Rheginon, Smaragdus. *Profane Authors*; Abu-navas, Albategni, Albumasar, Arabs. Alfred king of England. *Universities* of Oxford and Paris founded. *Councils*; nine of Constantinople relative to images and Photius; thirteen at Rome for regulating the lives of the clergy, and deposing some of them, and for election and confirmation of the German emperors; four of Chalons, three of Arles, six of Paris, two at Rheims, four of Soissons, three of Thionville, and others in France, for regulating church-discipline, monks, and images, nine at Aix-la-Chapelle, four at Cologne, seven at Mentz, five at Metz, relative to the same subject, and to Gottescalc.

## C E N T U R Y X.

*Gr. E. Alexander, Constantine Porphyrogeneta, Rōma, Romanus the Usurper, and Romanus, Nicephorus, Zimisces, Basil III. Constantine VIII. S. C. Moktasi, Moktader, Kaher, Radi, Moktaki, Mostakfi, Moti, Al Tay, Kader.*—In 909, a third Caliphate was erected at Cairwan, who ruled over Egypt and much of Africa. *G. E. Lewis IV. Conrad, Henry, Otho I. II. and III. F. K. Charles the Simple, Lewis, Lotharius II. Lewis the Idler, Hugh Capet, Robert. R. P. John IX. and Sergius, Benedict IV. Leo and Christopher, Sergius III. Anastasius III. Lando, John X. Leo VI. Stephen VIII. Leo VII. Stephen IX. Martin III. Agapetus, John XII. and Leo VIII. Benedict V. John XIII. Domnus II. Benedict VI. Boniface VII. Benedict VII. John XIV. XV. and XVI. Gregory V. Sylvester II. C. P. Euthimius, Nicolas restored, Stephen, Theophylact, Poyeuctes, Basil, Antony II. Nicolas Chrysoberg, Sifinnius. E. W. Notger, Hippolytus Thebanus, Flodoard, Atto, Luitprand, Odo of Clugni, Eutychius of Alexandria, Simon Metaphrastes, Nicon Armenus, Fulcuin, Abbo, Rathier, Wittekind, Ælfric, and Dunstan of Canterbury, Fulcuin and Heriger of Lobes, Moses-bar-Cepha, Odilo of Clugni, Olympiodore, Oecumenius, Oswald, Gregory of Cesarea, Epiphanes, Burchard, Valerius of Astorga, Rosweida. Edgar king of England. P. A. Leontius of Byzance, Genesius, and Suidas; and the Arabs Geber, Albattani, and Razi. Councils; four of Constantinople, twelve of Rome, eight of Rheims, three of London, three of Ravenna, with about seventeen others, for regulating the discipline, deposing the scandalous, and prohibiting of clerical marriages, &c.*

C E N T U.

## C E N T U R Y XI.

*Gr. E.* Basil III. Constantine VIII. Romanus II. Michael IV. and V. Constantine IX. Theodora, Michael VI. Isaac Comnenus, Constantine Ducas, Romanus III. Diogenes, Nicephore Botoniates, Alexis Comnen. The twelve Mahomedan califfs that reigned at Bagdad, from *A. D.* 100. to 1258. when their califate was abolished by the Tartars, had scarce any thing but some religious authority left them by the Buides and Seljukian Turks.

*G. E.* Henry II. Conrad II. Henry III. and IV. *F. K.* Robert, Henry, Philip. *Kings of England*, after the Norman conquest in 1066, William the Conqueror, William Rufus. *R. P.* John XVII. and XVIII. Sergius IV. Benedict VIII. and Gregory; John XIX. Benedict IX. and two Johns, Gregory VI. Clement II. Damasus II. Leo IX. Victor II. Stephen IX. Benedict X. Nicolas II. and Benedict, Alexander II. and Cadalus, *Gregory VII.* and Guy, Victor III. Urban II. *G. P.* Eustachius, Alexis, *Cerularius*, *Constantine*, *Jo. Xiphilin*, *Cosmas*, Eustachius II. Nicolas III. *E. W.* Aimon, Dithmar, Fulbert, Berenger, Bruno of Wirtzburg, Theophanes, Theodwin, Radulf, Nilus Doxopatrius, Michael Psellus, Alberic, Cedrenus, Humbert, Herman, Simeon junior, Honestus, Damian, Bernullus, Guitmond, two Nicetas's, Jannelin, Lanfranc, and Anselm of Canterbury, Lambert of Schaffenburg, Samuel of Morocco, Theophylact a Bulgarian of Acbrida, Anselm of Lucca, Bruno the Carthusian, Bruno of Clugni, Benno, Scylitzes, Marianus, Eadmer, Osburn, Hildebert, Manasses of Rheims, Adelman, John of Antioch, Sigisfrid, Adam of Bremen, Curopolata. *P. A.* Leo Grammaticus, Guy Aretin, Roscelin, John the philosopher; Alphes, and Josippon, Jews; Ferdusi, and Avicenna, Mahometans. *Councils*, about an hundred and twenty four in number, at Rome, Capua,

Vol. II.                      I i                      Mantua,



Mantua, and in France, and England, relative to scandals, simony, clerical marriage, Henry the emperor, Berenger, &c. The countries of Sicily, Castile, Poland, and Hungary, were erected into kindgoms; and that of Burgundy, was, by its last king, transferred to Conrad the emperor.

## C E N T U R Y XII.

*Gr. E.* Alexius, John II. Emanuel, Alexius II. Andronicus, all Comneni, Isaac Angelus, Alexius III. *G. E.* Henry V. Lotharius II. Conrad III. Frederic I. Henry VI. *Kings of France*, Lewis VI. and VII. Philip Augustus: *of England*; Henry, Stephen, Richard. *R. P.* Pascal II. and four rivals, Gelasius II. Callistus II. Honorius II. Innocent II. Celestine II. Lucius II. Eugenius III. Anastasius IV. Adrian IV. Alexander III. Lucius III. Gregory VIII. Clement III. Celestine III. *C. P.* Theodore, Constantine IV. and two rivals, Arsenius, Cosmas, Chariton, *Luke Chrysoberg*, Michael Anchialus, Basil, Nicetas, Dosithenus, George Xiphilin. *E. W.* Anselm of Laon, Eustratius of Nice, Chrysolanus, Hildebert, Zonaras, Rupert of Duytz, Hugh of Clugni, Ivo, Marbodinus, Cassin, Alfons a converted Jew, Sigibert, Alberic, Hugh of St Victor, Glycas, Bryennius, Nicetas, Zigabenus, Peter the Venerable, Bruno, Guibert, Anselm of Gemblours, Galfrid, Gilbert of Limeric, Hervey, Odo, Oderic, Harding, Robert Pullus, Abelard, Basil of Thessalonica, Bernard, Harmenopolus, Andronicus, Gilbert la Porre, Richard of St Victor, Ethelred, Bonacursus, Cinnamus, Belet of Paris, Peter Lombard, Peter of Blois, Peter Comestor, Becket, Saxo Grammaticus, and Baldwin of Canterbury, Foliot of London, Simeon Logotheta, John of Salisbury, William of Tyre, Godfrey of Viterbo, Eustathius of Thessalonica, Constantine Manasses, Arnoul, Peter of Charteris, Gervasius, Joachim, Balsamon. *P. A.* William of Newburg, Pelagius

gius of Oviedo, John of Milan, John and Isaac Tzetzes, Henry of Huntingdon, Jeffry of Monmouth, Azo, Falcand, Anna Comnena the Greek emperor's daughter, Nestor a Russian; Elmakin: Anvari, and Averroes, Mahomedans; Aben Ezra, Jarchi, Maimonides, Benjamin of Tudela, Kimchi, Jews. *Councils*; nine in the Lateran church of Rome, against the German emperors, the laical investitures of clergymen, and the Waldenses, &c.; twelve at London, relative to clerical rights, Becket, &c.; many in France against antipopes, laical investitures, Waldenses, and the like. None of the rest are of much importance.

## C E T U R Y XIII.

*Gr. E.* Alexius, Alexius Ducas. From 1204, to 1261, five Frank emperors reigned, viz. Baldwin, Henry, Peter, Robert, Baldwin II. during which the Greek emperors, three Lascars, and Ducas, reigned at Nice; Paleologus, and Andronicus, again at Constantinople. *G. E.* Philip, Otho IV. Frederic II. Conrad of Suabia, William of Holland, Richard of England, and Ottocar of Bohemia, being candidates, a civil war took place, Rodolfus, Adolfus. *Kings of France*; Lewis VIII. and IX. Philip III. and IV. *Kings of England*; John, Henry III. Edward. *R. P.* Innocent III. Honorius III. Celestine IV. Alexander IV. Urban IV. Clement IV. Gregory X. Innocent V. Adrian V. John XX. Nicolas III. Martin IV. Honorius IV. Nicolas IV. Celestine V. *C. P.* Maurocenus, Theodore, Maximus II. Manuel, *Germanius* II. Manuel, *Nicephorus Blemmides*, *Arsenius*, Joseph, *John Vecus*, George, Anastasius, John XI. *E. W.* Langton, St Francis, Walter of Oxford, Walter of Roman, William of Segnelay, Joel, Michael and Nicetas, Choniates, Nicetas of Thessalonica. Nicolas of Otranto, Neckam, Roderic Ximenes of Toledo, Alan of the isles, Antony of Padua, Conrad of

Ursperg, James of Vitry, Raymond of Pennafort, Alexander Hales, Matthew, John, and William of Paris, Grosthead of Lincoln, Vincent of Beauvais, John de Dieu, Hugh of St Cher, Semeca, William of St Amour, Humbert, Robert Sorbonne, Aquinas, Albert Magnus, Bonaventure, Georges Acropolita, Metochita and Panchymeres, Henry of Ghent, Edmond, Peckham of Canterbury, Martin Polonus, Raymond of Martins, William Durand, James Voragine of Genoa, Richard Middleton, William Nengis, Egidius of Columna, Chomatenus, Mark of Alexandria. *P. A.* Roger Bacon, Ralph of Diceto, Walter of Coventry, Alexander the Poet of Paris, Accursius, John Holywood or Sacrobosco, Actuarius, Rigord, Peter de Vignes, Sozomen, Cotton of Norwich, Engelbert, Wick, Vitellio, Michael Scott, Foscari, Alphonso king of Spain, Cavalcanti, Dinus the Lawyer, Marco Polo, Barberini. *Councils*, were about an hundred and twelve, held in Italy, Germany, and England, but chiefly in France, for extirpating the Waldenses, and their assistants, and appointing discipline for the prevalent scandals. The principal were these of the Lateran in 1215, for establishing of transubstantiation; and that of Lyons in 1274, for uniting the Latin and Greek churches.

## C E N T U R Y XIV.

*Gr. E.* Andronicus II. and III. John Paleologus, and *Jo. Cantacuzenus*, Andronicus IV. Emanuel II. *G. E.* Albert, Henry VII. Lewis V. Charles IV. Wenceslaus. *Emperors of the Ottoman Turks*; Othman, Or Khan, Amurat, Bajazet. *Kings of France*; Lewis X. Philip V. and VI. John, Charles V. and VI.: *of England*; Edward II. and III. Richard II.: *of Scotland*, recovered from the English; Robert Bruce, David II. Robert Stuart, Robert III. *R. P.* Boniface VIII. Benedict XI. Clement V. John XXI. and Peter, Benedict XII. Clement



ment VI. Innocent VI. Urban V. and VI. Boniface IX. and *Benedict* XIII. *C. P.* Nippon, John Glycas, Gerasimus, Isaias, John XIII. Callistus, Philetus, Macarius, Nicolas IV. Antony IV. *E. W.* Rainer, Lully, John Scott of Dunse, Malachy of Armagh, Elpidius, Joyce, Bertrand, Casenas, Durand of St Pourcain, Durand of Meaux, Nicholas Lyra, Porchet, Goddam, Canon, Bassolis, Adonis, Jo. Bacon, Occam, Thomas More, Acyndinus, John of Ghent, Holcot, Planudes, Nicephorus Callistus, Nicephorus Gregoras, two Cabasilas's, Bradwardin, Richard of Armagh, Tauler, Petrarcha, Paludes of Jerusalem, Alvarus Pelagius, Blastares, Barlaam, Palamas, Burley, Higden, Ruyfbrock, Nilus of Rhodes, Calecas, Nicolas Eimeric, Vargas, Nicolas Oreme, Sts Catherine and Bridget, Wickliff, Chrysoloras, Augustine Triumphus, Peter of Alliac, Nicolas of Gorham, Zabarella. *L. M.* Dante, Petrarch, Boccace, Chaucer, Matthew of Westminster, Nicolas Trivet, Theodore Metochita, Stero, Mugellan, Everard, Hayton the Arminian, Albertino, Oderic, Lupold, Apono, Marsilius Patavinus, and Andreæ, lawyers, Leontius Pilato, Grisant the Mathematician, Froissard, Peter of Ferrara, Arnold of Villa Nova, Abulfeda an Arabian prince. *Universities* founded at Avignon, Perugia, Orleans, Florence, Cahors, Heidelberg, Prague, Perpignan, Cologne, Pavia, Cracow, Vienna, Geneva, Orange, Sienna, Erfurt, Angers. *Councils*; eight at London, five at Ravenna, six at Paris, and in many other places of France, to regulate the ecclesiastical authority and discipline, to cut off the Templars, heal the schism of the popes, &c.: but the most noted was that of Vienne against the Templars, Beghards, and Fratricelli; and which ordered the Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic languages, to be taught in the universities of Paris, Oxford, &c.

## C E N T U R Y X V.

*Gr. E. Manuel II.* John Paleologus, Constantine Paleologus, from whom the Ottoman Turks took the empire in 1453. *G. E.* Robert, Sigismund, Frederic, Maximilian. *Turkish emperors*; Soliman, Moufa, Mahomet, Amurat II. Mahomet II. Bajazet II. *Kings of France*; Charles VI. and VII. Lewis XI. Charles VIII.: *of England*; Henry IV. V. and VI. Edward IV. and V. Richard III. Henry VII.: *of Scotland*; James I. II. III. and IV. *R. P.* Innocent VII. Gregory XII. Alexander V. John XXII. Martin V. Eugenius IV. and Felix V. Nicolas V. Callistus III. *Pius II.* Paul II. Sixtus IV. Innocent VIII. Alexander VI. *C. P.* Callistus, Euthymius II. *Joseph II.* Gregory III. *Gennadius*, Sophronius, Simeon, Maximus, Niphon. In this, and the following centuries, the Romans had also their nominal patriarchs of Constantinople, *viz.* Corarius, Bessarion, &c. *E. W.* Cydonius, Ullerston, Thomas Walden, Theodoric of Niem, Simon of Thessalonica, Bryennius, Capreolus, Augustine Romanus, Nicolas Clemangis, Gobelin, Henry of Hesse, John Huffle, Jerome of Prague, Vincent Ferrier, Bernardin, Gerson chancellor of the university of Paris. John Turrecremata, Laurence Justinian, Sgyropulus, Raymond of Sabunde, Gemisthius Pletho, Macarius, Mark Eugenius of Ephesus, and his brother John. Demetrius Chrysoloras, Bessarion, George of Trebisonde, Simoneta, Gregory Mamas, Laonicus Kalkondilas, Hermolaus Barbarus, Argyropulus, Codinus Curopalates, Nieder, Ambrose of Camaldule, Antonin, Capistran, John de Indagine, Nicolas Cusanus, Reynold Peacock, Paul Burgenfis a converted Jew, Thomas a Kempis, Wallingham, Spina, Tostatus, Picolmini, Barlette, Dionysius the Carthusian, Platina, Naclerus, Baptista Poggius, Raulin, John Wessel, Biel, Trithemius, Lebritta or Nebrissenfis,

briffensis, Maillard, Sabellicus, Reuchlin or Capnio, Savonarola, Werner, Rolwink. *P. A.* Lascaris, Laurence Valla, Leonard Aretin, Theodore Gazeus, Marsilius Ficinus, Persona, John and Francis of Mirandula, Bonfinius, Justinian, Blondus, Linacer, Politian, Calepin, Philip de Comines, Baptista Porta, Aldus Manutius, Murelianus, Marullus, Codrus, Agricola. Alexander ab Alexandro,—with Cherefeddin, Arabshah, Ulug Beg, Mahomedans, and Abarbanel, and Zaccuth, Jews. *Universities* founded at Leipzig, Louvain, Friburg, Rostock, Basil, Tübingen, Würzburg, Turin, Ingoldstadt, St Andrews, Glasgow, Poitiers, Gripswald, Pisa, Bourdeaux, Trier, Toledo, Upsal, Mentz, Copenhagen. *Councils*, of Pisa, Constance, Florence, Bourges, Soissons, were the principal. Some at Toledo, and other places in Spain, made laws for reformation. One at York, appointed the priests four times a-year, to explain the fourteen articles of faith, ten commandments, two gospel-precepts, seven works of mercy, seven deadly sins, seven principal virtues, and seven sacraments.

## C E N T U R Y XVI.

G. E. Maximilian, Charles V. Ferdinand and, Maximilian, Rodolphus. *Turkish Emperors*; Selim, Solyman II. Selim II. Amurat III. Mahomet III. *Emperors or Czars of Muscovy or Russia*; John Basilowitz, Basilus Jwanowitz, John Basilowitz, Theodore Jwanowitz, Boris Gadenow. *Kings of France*; Lewis XII. Francis, Henry II. Francis II. Charles IX. Henry III. and IV. : *of Spain*; Ferdinand, Philip, Charles I. emperor, Philip II. : *of England*; Henry VIII. Edward, Mary, Elisabeth : *of Scotland*; James IV. and V. Mary, James VI. : *of Denmark*; Christiern II. Frederic, Christiern III. Frederic IV. Christiern IV. : *of Sweden*, after their revolt from Denmark in 1522; Gustavus, Ericson, Eric, Sigismund king of Poland :



Poland: *of Poiland*; Alexander, Sigismund I. and H. Henry, afterward king of France, Stephen Bathori, Sigismund. *R. P.* Pius III. Julius II. Leo X. Adrian VI. Clement VII. Paul III. Julius III. Marcellus II. Paul IV. Pius IV. Gregory XIII. *Sixtus* V. Urban VII. Gregory XIV. Innocent IX. Clement VIII. *C. P.* Theoleptus, Jeremias, Dionysius, Joseph, Metrophanes, Jeremias II. Pachomius, Theoleptus II. *E. W.* PAPISTS; Erasmus, Pagnin, Ludovicus Vives, Baptista Mantuanus, Cornelius Agrippa, Almain, Cajetan, Hockstrat, Eckius, Cochleus, Latomus, Clichtou, Driedo, Faber, Albert, Pighius, Sadolet, Contarini, Augustin Stenchus, Ferus, Catharinus, Isidore Clarius, Gropper, Pool, Lippoman, Soto, Canus, Cassander, Hessels, Campegius, Onuphrius, Sixtus Senensis, Despense, Alphonsus de Castro, Caranza, Surius, Hosius, James de Billy, Pamelius, Maldonat, Salmero, Serarius, Turrian, Canisius, Ribera, Arias Montanus, Vega, Andradius, Baius, Genebrard. LUTHERANS; Luther, Melancthon, Bugenhagius, Jo. Mair, Epinus, Amsdorf, Illyricus, Chemnitz, Hunnius, Brentius, Weller, Selnecker, Andreæ, Chytræus, Wigand, Strigelius, Hutter. REFORMED; Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Leo Juda, Pellicanus, Bullinger, Viret, Farel, Musculus, Peter Martyr, Calvin, Beza, Mercer, Lambert, Junius, Sadeel, Marlorat, Bucer, Zanchy, Ursin, Szegedin, R. and H. Stephens, the two Scaligers, Cranmer, Latimer, Hooper, Ridley, Bradford, Jewel, Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, Fox, Whitaker, Cartwright, John Reynolds, Buchanan, Knox, Craig, Rollock, Melvin \*. *Universities* founded at Aberdeen, Wittenberg, Frankfort on the Oder, Alcalá, Saragossa, Marpurg, Seville, Compostella, Oviedo, Grenade, Franeker, Strasburg, Parma, Macerata, Tortosa, Coimbra, Konigsberg, Leyden, Florence, Rheims, Dillingen, Mexico, Domingo, Tarragona, Helmstadt, Altorph, Paderborn, Sigen, Edinburgh. *Councils*, of Pisa, Lateran, and Trent,

\* *Profane Authors* are too numerous to be any more mentioned.  
with

with many provincial ones, both Popish and Protestant \*.

## C E N T U R Y XVII.

*G. E.* Matthias, Ferdinand II. and III. Leopold. *Turkish Emperors*; Achmet, Mustapha, Osman, Amurat IV. Ibrahim, Mahomet IV. Solyman, Achmet, Mustapha II. *Russian Emperors*; Theodore Borissowitz, Basilus Zuski, Uladislaus of Poland, Michael Theodorowitz. Alexis Michaelowitz, Theodore Alexowitz, Peter Alexiowitz. *Kings of France*; Lewis XIII. and XIV.: *of Spain*; Philip III. and IV. Charles II.: *of Britain*; James, Charles I. Cromwel, Charles II. James II. William III.: *of Denmark*; Christiern IV. Frederic III. Christiern V.: *of Sweden*; Charles IX. Gustavus Adolphus, Christina, Charles X. XI. and XII.: *of Poland*; Sigismund III. Uladislaus, Casimir, Michael, Sobieski. *R. P.* Leo XI. Paul V. Gregory XV. Urban VIII. Innocent X. Alexander VII. Clement IX. and X. Innocent XI. Alexander VIII. *C. P.* Cyril, Cyril II. Parthenius, &c. *E. W. PAPISTS*; Baronius, Gallonius, Molina, Paul Sarpi, Richier, Bellarmine, Calasio, Perron, Villalpand, Mariana, Cornelius a Lapide, Bonfrerius, Menochius, Savaron, Aubespine, Estius, Malvenda, Torniel, Schaccus, Marca, Sirmond, Petau, the two Morins, Luke of Holstein, Launoi, Pascal, Tillemont, Robert and Antony Arnauds, Nicole, Lancelot, Hermant, Schellstrat, Combesis, Flavigny, DuCange, D'Achery, Norris, Bossuet, Cointe, Cotelier, Thomasin, Lallemant, Pagi, Mabillon, Ruinart, Lami, Baluze, Huetius, Natalis, Choisi, Muratori, Dupin, Montfaucon, Fenelon, Renaudot, Pezron. **LUTHERANS**;

\* From *A. D.* 100 to 1600, there were about 800 ecclesiastical councils or synods which we know of. These of Nice in 325, of Ephesus in 431, of Chalcedon in 451, of Constantinople in 381, 553, and 681, of Lyons in 1274, of Constance in 1414, of Basil in 1431, and of Trent in 1545, were the most noted.

Gerard, the Meisners, Mentzer, Frantzius, Brochmand, Glassius, Baldwin, Hunnius, Pfeiffer, Andrew and Luke Osianders, George and Frederic Ulrics, the two Calixti, Hacspan, the two Walhers, Dorscheus, Danhavers, Weller, Jo. and Pet. Museus, Geyer, Schertzer, Bechman, Calovius, Hildebrand, Schomer, Kortholt, Schmidt, Arndt, Lutkeman, Muller, Scrivier, Lassein, Spener, Frank. REFORMED; Pareus, Scultet, Fabritius of the Palatinate, H. Altingius, Pelargus, the two Bergii, Piscator, Germans; Hospmian, Diodati, the two Buxtorfs, Hottinger, Heidegger, Turretin, Pictet, Swiss, and Genevans; Drusius, Amama, Gomar, Rivet, Cloppenburg, G. Vossius, Cocceius, Voet, Haak, Waleus, Marenius, Heidan, Burman, Jo. Altingius, Wittichius, Hornbeek, Rivet, two Spanheims, Maastricht, Witius, Markius, Leidekker, Vitringa, with Grotius, Dutch; Chamier Casaubon, Moulin, Mestrezat, Blondel, Drelincourt, De Dien, Le Empereur, Amyraut, the two Capels, La Place, Garrisoles, Croy, Daille, Le Blanc, Bochart, Claude, Abbadie, Allix, Placette, Jurieu, James and Samuel Basnage, French; Brightman, Wilson, Fusk, Preston, Boltons, Sibbs, Pemble, Canne, Fenner, Leigh, Trap, Arrowsmith, Perkins, Hall, Hales, Weemse, Ainsworth, Herbert, Greenhill, Hildertham, Davenant, Pocock, Fell, Hammond, Selden, Gataker, Uther, Bedel, Walton, Lightfoot, Barrow, Pearson, Stillingfleet, Cudworth, Patrick, Tillotson, Beveridge, Bull, Jacksons, Gilpin, Keach, Burnet, Burges, Strong, Caryl, Manton, Reynolds, Clarkson, Pool, Polhill, Alsop, Owen, Charnock, Jenkins, Howe, Bates, Doolittle, Twiss, Burroughs, Gouge, Clarks, Cradock, Jacomb, Vincent, Ambrose, Gurnal, Grew, Wilkins, Taylor, Hopkins, Baxter, Chauncey, Welsh, Boyd, Cameron, Calderwood, Forbes, Henderson, Gillespy, Dickson, Bailly, Rutherford, Durham, Hutcheson, Brown, Elemings, British *Universities* founded at Lunden, Giessen, Pampelune, Saltzburg, Derpt in Livonia,



voniam, Utrecht, Abo, Duisburg, Kiel in Holstein, Inspruck, Bologn, Hall.

## C E N T U R Y XVIII.

*Emperors of Germany*; Joseph, Charles VI. and VII. Francis: *of Turkey*; Achmet III. Machmout, Osman II. Mustapha: *of Russia*; Peter the Great, Catherine, Peter II. Ann, John, Elisabeth, Peter III. Catherine his queen. *Kings of France*; Lewis XIV. and XV.: *of Spain*; Philip V. Ferdinand VI. Charles II.: *of Britain*; Ann, George I. II. and III.: *of Denmark*; Frederic IV. Christiern VI. Frederic V.: *of Sweden*; Charles XII. Frederic of Hesse-Cassel, Adolphus Frederic of Holstein: *of Poland*; Augustus with Stanislaus, Augustus II. Stanislaus: *of Prussia*; Frederic I. II. and III. *Popes of Rome*; Clement XI. Innocent XIII. Benedict XIII. Clement XII. Benedict XIV. Clement XIII. *Ecclesiastical Writers*, PAPISTS; Beaugendre, Helyot, Martiani, Vertot, Massilon, Berruyer, Le Quien, Asselman, Calmet, &c. LUTHERANS; Pechtius, Maier, Masius, Schmidius, Loescher, Langius, Walchius, Mosheim, Majus, Pritius, &c. REFORMED; Gurtler, Reland, Trigland, Braunius, Gerdes, Hulsius, Alphonsus Turretin, Werenfels, Osterwald, Jablonski, Strimesius, Meyer, Oudin, Maurice, Beaufobre, L'Enfant, Bouiller;—Newton, Edwards, Bentley, Whitby, Whiston, Hare, Atterbury, Clark, B. and T. Bennets, Abernethy, Ditton, Bensons, Kidder, Scot, Chandlers, Grove, Warner, Stackhouse, Moss, Williams, Jenks, Evans, Boyse, abp. Sharp and Potter, Waterland, Lessly, South, Sykes, J. Bates, H. Owen, two Sherlocks, and six Taylors, Warburton, Lowth, Wesley, Delany, Leland, Seeds, Bradbury, Calamy, Watts, Guyse, Doddridge, Gill, Cruden, Wallin, Brine, Walker, Haweis, Hervey, Venn, Cudworth, Pike, Halyburton, Jamieson, Andersons, Flint, M'Claren, Wisheart, Riccalton, Haddow, Campbells, M'Laurin, Gilles, Dunlop, Craig, Witherspoon, Warden, Willison, Bostons, Erskines, Moncrief, M'Ewen, Hall, &c.

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